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John J. Miller: **MILITARIZE SPACE**

NATIONAL REVIEW

The New Holland

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PARENTING IN CYBERSPACE

Now that school's out for summer, millions of children have more free time to be with friends, pursue hobbies, listen to music, play electronic games—and explore technology.

In fact, today's kids can do all of the above simultaneously. Using a PC, many young people exchange instant messages, surf their favorite Web sites and blast their Ashanti CD, even while they perform heroic feats in an online game.

Technology opens new vistas for today's children, who have grown up with PCs as an integral part of their everyday lives. And not just for summertime entertainment. At home and in millions of classrooms around the world, students use computers and the Internet to gather information, stimulate their thinking and make learning more fun.

Let's protect kids without cutting them off from technology.

But not all Web content is appropriate for young people, and kids' privacy—even their safety—can be endangered if they are not cautious when interacting with strangers online. Protecting children as they learn to use technology is a vital concern for everyone.

A new study by the National Research Council concludes that the best protection comes from parents and other caregivers. The NRC report, *Youth, Pornography and the Internet*, likens protecting kids online to keeping them safe around swimming pools. Fences, alarms and locks can help, but they are no substitute for adults teaching children to swim, and to swim safely. Education, at home as well as at school, can be the most effective way to protect kids using technology, too.

That new laws will not suffice was made clear again this month when a panel of federal judges unanimously struck down a law that required libraries to filter Internet content for material harmful to minors. Two previous federal laws intended to protect children from online pornography also ran afoul of free-speech protections in the First Amendment.

Software tools can provide a measure of protection. For example, Microsoft Internet Explorer offers a Content Advisor option that blocks access to sites based on a multilevel labeling system for language, nudity, sex and violence. Similarly, the Xbox video game system enables adults to "lock out" games they consider inappropriate.

Microsoft is working to develop more advanced content-filtering software for protecting children and for other purposes, such as blocking junk e-mail. We also work closely with other industry leaders on innovations in child protection technologies, but this progress could be threatened if the government were to mandate the use of a particular technology based solely on what's possible today.

Ultimately, there is no substitute for adults teaching children a few basic rules—for example, to tell an adult if they encounter inappropriate online content, and to never disclose personal information to strangers online. Many helpful resources are available on the Internet. For example, Microsoft has worked with the Boys & Girls Clubs of America to develop Stay Safe Online, an interactive instructional program featuring NBA star Shaquille O'Neal. It's available at www.staysafeonline.com.

Microsoft also cooperates with other industry leaders in an online resource center for parents and caregivers at www.getnetwise.org. There, they can find safety tips, links to Web sites for kids, a guide to Internet safety products and instructions for reporting problems to authorities.

Working together, we can protect children as they use technology to realize their full potential throughout their many summers to come.

One in a series of essays on technology and society. More information is available at microsoft.com/issues.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ LETTERS ■

NO LAUGHING MATTER

After reading Jonah Goldberg's "Ozzy Without Harriet" (June 17), I watched *The Osbournes* for the first time, and it wasn't the anti-drug campaign that Mr. Goldberg describes.

MTV is making serious drug abuse something to laugh about, and *The Osbournes* does not show the reality of such abuse. Most addicts do not spend their lives in Beverly Hills, but on the streets of America, struggling to stay alive. Their lives are miserable, not funny.

Osbourne does look pathetic, but this won't discourage kids. MTV, the company that invented trash reality shows and glorifies teenage promiscuity, has once again trivialized a serious subject. To say that MTV is finally on the "right side of the culture wars" is almost laughable.

William Selber
Austin, Tex.

OUR MUDDLED HERETIC

Ramesh Ponnuru is to be commended for his accurate summarization of Frank S. Meyer's political philosophy ("The Fusionist," June 17). However, in his muddled attempt to challenge Meyer, he exposes himself as one of the types of heretic about whom Meyer eloquently warned his fellow conservatives.

Meyer understood that truth can be promoted only by the beliefs and actions of committed individuals, not the mystical operations of reified abstractions such as "society" or "contemporary culture." This understanding inspired the conservative movement, and the results were definitive—not "arguable," as Mr. Ponnuru states.

This lesson has been learned all too well by the Left. It has chosen to disparage all systematic attempts to develop a comprehensive philosophical understanding of our existence—and this ploy has not been taken seriously by many complacent conservatives. The result has been a post-Reagan ideological disarray within the conservative movement.

The secular equivalent of a religious revival is needed, and one component of such a revival would be to reestablish Meyer's "Principles & Heresies" column, written by one of his disciples. Another would be a campaign, led by NATIONAL REVIEW, to secure for Meyer the Medal of Freedom award, already bestowed on Whittaker Chambers, James Burnham, and William F. Buckley Jr.

William A. Bowie Jr.
Lexington, Ky.

FONER'S FOLLY

Ronald Radosh ("The Left's Lion," July 1) charges Eric Foner with viewing the United States as being as oppressive as the regimes foisted upon Eastern Europe by Stalin.

An even more serious charge against Foner is that he equates the events of 9/11 with American policy. In the October 4, 2001, *London Review of Books*, Foner says, "I'm not sure which is more frightening: the horror that engulfed New York City or the apocalyptic rhetoric emanating daily from the White House."

George Jochnowitz
Staten Island, N.Y.

THE RADICAL CURE

In avoiding the issue of racial preferences, the Bush administration may see something NR editors miss (The Week, June 17): If, after 38 years, we must still look to the courts to clarify a law, that law has probably outlived its usefulness. The war against drugs will succeed sooner than NR's war against preferences.

If Bush is going to have to deal with preferences, why not NR? Back in the '90s, Bill Buckley, Bill Rusher, et al. heralded Prop. 209 as a chance to debate affirmative action. Yet in the rush to hop on the Wood-Custred-Connerly bandwagon, no truly conservative debate ever materialized, as conservatives fell into Burke's trap: "combating prejudice, . . . you are at war with nature." The lawsuits proliferate, seeking "clarification" for a confused people who have forgotten the meaning of ordered freedom, but have yet to see the radical cure needed: *repeal.*

It is unfortunate that NR editors remain in this group.

W. Edward Chynoweth
Sanger, Calif.

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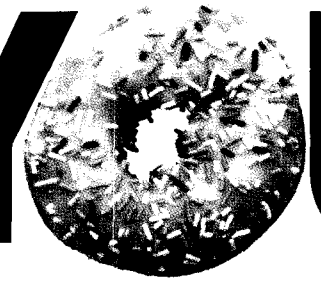
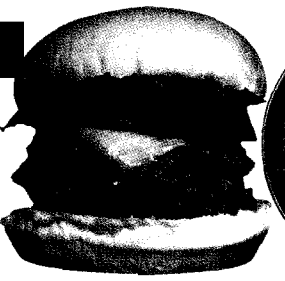
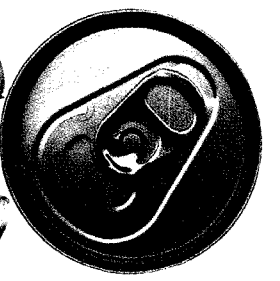
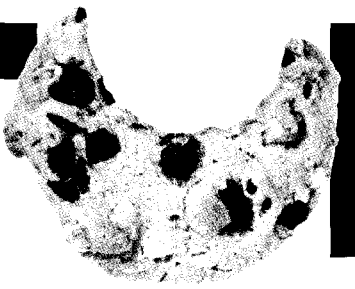
YOU ARE TOO STUPID



...to make your own food choices. At least according to the food police and government bureaucrats who have proposed "fat taxes" on foods they don't want you to eat. Now the trial lawyers are threatening class-action lawsuits against restaurants for serving America's favorite foods and drinks.

We think they're going too far.

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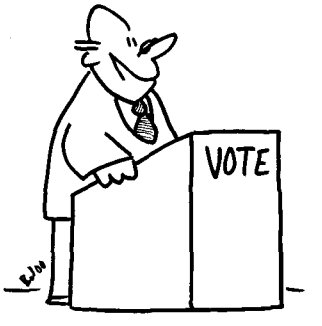
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ In Gallup poll, President **Bush**'s job approval rating is 74 percent. . . . Bush's statement to Congress, delivering legislation for Homeland Security Department: "Our goal is not to expand government, but to create an agile organization that takes advantage of modern technology and management techniques to meet a new and constantly evolving threat." . . . As White House shoots down speculation that chief of staff **Andy Card** will become first secretary of homeland security, potential nominees include Sen. **Bill Frist** (R., Tenn.) and deputy secretary of state **Richard Armitage**. . . . School board in Stockton, Calif., votes to name new elementary school after Bush. . . . In first six months of 2002, Bush and Vice President **Cheney** raise more than $100 million for GOP.

■ Senate majority leader **Tom Daschle**, in *Washington Times*: "We need to be more aggressive. We need to be even confrontational with the leadership of the Saudi government on those occasions when they're not doing enough, and when they are sponsoring this propaganda of the ilk we've seen." . . . Sen. **Joe Biden** (D., Del.), on *Face the Nation*: "I don't think there's any question that if **Saddam Hussein**'s around five years from now, we've failed." . . . In Fox News poll, 55 percent say U.S. should try to assassinate Hussein. . . . Sen. **Jon Kyl** (R., Ariz.) on the end of the ABM Treaty: "Our government is no longer handcuffed to a policy that intentionally leaves its own people defenseless to missile attack."

■ Federal deficit this year will easily exceed $100 billion, says Congressional Budget Office. . . . Federal Register in 2001 contained 64,431 pages, down 13 percent from 2000, according to **Clyde Wayne Crews Jr.** of Cato Institute. . . . **Karl Rove** on failure to win permanent repeal of death tax: "Don't look at it as a defeat. This is a war, and we need to make an ongoing commitment to winning the effort." . . . **Kenneth Connor** of Family Research Council, in *Washington Post*: "It's fair to say some social conservatives are becoming restless about the inertia on the domestic agenda. . . . [Bush] has accumulated enormous political capital, and the question is, to what end?" . . . Sen. **Sam Brownback** (R., Kan.), in *Washington Post*: "I think every life is sacred and beautiful, whether it's the unborn or whether it's **Ted Kennedy** or **Paul Wellstone**." . . . Teamsters president **James P. Hoffa**, in *Washington Times*: "We have more access to this White House than we did to the Clinton White House." Hoffa also says Teamsters may endorse Florida governor **Jeb Bush** (R.) against **Janet Reno** (D.).

■ Senate votes to lift ban on abortions at military hospitals, after House refuses. . . . Sen. **John Edwards** (D, N.C.) would repeal tax cuts not yet implemented. . . . Sen. **Robert Torricelli** (D., N.J.) on revisions to Clean Air Act: "Listen to me carefully. People's lives will be lost because of what was decided today. Young people and the elderly will get asthma. Lakes will be destroyed. Forests will be destroyed." . . . Quinnipiac University poll finds more New Jersey voters dissatisfied with Torricelli (37 percent) than satisfied (35 percent). . . . Minnesota governor **Jesse Ventura** (I.), sinking in the polls, says he won't seek reelection: "I'm kind of like **Che Guevara**. I lead the revolution, but at some point I turn it over to someone else." . . . Major crimes increase for first time in decade, with murder up 3.1 percent, reports *Washington Post*.



"Well, maybe I am—but in a larger sense, aren't we all corrupt, lying, cheating scoundrels?"

■ **Bill Clinton** hauled in $9.2 million for 59 paid speeches last year, according to financial disclosure forms released by wife. "There's no question he's the highest-paid speaker in the history of the lecture industry," says his representative. . . . In ABC News poll, 59 percent say **Gerald Ford** did "right thing" in pardoning **Richard Nixon**. . . . Secret Service loses 12 percent of uniformed personnel to expanded air-marshal program, which offers higher salaries, according to *National Journal*. . . . Supreme Court justice **Sandra Day O'Connor** is inducted into National Cowgirl Museum and Hall of Fame. . . . Former Gingrich spokesman **Tony Blankley** becomes editorial-page editor of *Washington Times*.

■ "I don't want a banana republic," says Afghan president **Hamid Karzai**. "I want a real country." . . . Saudi Arabian ambassador to London **Ghazi Al-Qusaibi**, in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (according to Middle East Media Research Institute): "I do not fear death—on the contrary, I long to die as a martyr, although I am at an age that does not allow me to carry out a martyrdom operation. My weight does not permit this. But I still hope to die as a martyr." . . . Al-Qaeda spokesman takes credit for April bombing in Tunis and says "98 percent of the leadership of the Qaeda organization are safe," including **Osama bin Laden**. . . . India's next president, **A. P. J. Abdul Kalam**, on avoiding conflict with Pakistan over Kashmir: "Nuclear deterrents on both sides have helped avert a war." . . . In Zogby poll in Mexico, 58 percent agree, "the territory of the United States Southwest rightfully belongs to Mexico."

■ **Pat Buchanan** on speculation that he's Deep Throat: "I'm not the kind of guy that is going to spend a lot of time in a garage with **Bob Woodward**. . . . The last time I cooperated with the *Washington Post*, in any large degree, was in 1952, when I was a paper boy delivering the damn thing in Northwest Washington." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ Abby wins!

■ In a speech notable for its frankness, President Bush has told the Palestinians that they are victims of their own disastrous leadership. A man corrupt in every sense, Yasser Arafat has committed his people to terror and lawlessness, robbing them of freedom, security, and of course money that ought to be theirs. It is brave to spell out the truth this way. On the condition that the Palestinians get themselves new leadership, the president promises that they will be showered with rewards: a "provisional state" (whatever that strange new animal may be), the end of the Israeli occupation, and, of course, huge donations from those willing to be panhandled as usual. Intractable questions about borders, the status of Jerusalem, and the return of "refugees" are postponed. Nothing is asked of Israel until the Palestinians move in the required direction, and that is wise. Whether this change in the Palestinian polity will come soon, or ever, is open to question, but Bush's new approach has three advantages over the policies of the last decade: It is coherent, it is not morally confused, and it has not already failed.

■ News comes that President Bush directed the CIA to step up its program to topple Saddam Hussein, which is a hopeful sign that Bush is beginning to act on his anti-Saddam rhetoric. But the directive continues the silly policy of pretending to oppose assassination: CIA and special-forces teams can kill Saddam, but only in "self-defense" (presumably if Saddam pulls one of his pistols on them). And CIA covert action is no substitute for a full-fledged invasion that would allow us to control events on the ground, and forge a post-Saddam government that is pluralist, relatively free, and perhaps a model for the rest of the Arab world (including the Palestinians). For that you need not just the CIA, but the Marines.

■ The Bush administration originally insisted that its reorganization of security agencies could be accomplished with no increase in federal spending, and maybe even some savings. The $37.4 billion that would go to the new Department of Homeland Security would come from other departments. That hope has quickly faded. With each passing day, it is becoming more apparent that the whole will be bigger, and more expensive, than its parts. The president's point men for the reorganization now allow that costs might go up a bit during the transition period, and that the new functions being given to old agencies might cost more money than they have budgeted. These concessions on costs come *before* congressional appropriators get to work protecting their turf, which will entail the duplication of functions and programs. As the debate progresses, watch for Democrats to characterize any GOP cost-consciousness as a reckless willingness to gamble with American lives by trying to protect them on the cheap. The administration is seeking to get our borders, intelligence analysis, visas, and transportation security under control. But it is already losing control of the shape of the new department charged with these crucial functions.

■ The "random screening" charade at airport departure gates was merely absurd for a while, and we all had fun trading stories about 70-year-old nuns being strip-searched. It is no longer possible to laugh at this foolishness. Since it is not practicable to screen everyone, screening should be restricted to persons who have some measurable probability of being hijackers. At an utter minimum, the valuable time of the screeners ought not be wasted on people whose probability of being hijackers is *absolutely zero*. Ex-vice presidents of the United States, for example. Boarding a flight to Milwaukee at Reagan National Airport, Al Gore was pulled out of line for the full treatment. Then, proceeding from Milwaukee to New York the next day, the ex-VPOTUS was picked out and searched yet again. "He was more than happy, as all Americans are in these troubled times, to cooperate," said a Gore aide. If that is true, then Gore is unfit for public office. Nobody should he happy with this insanity. Anyone who can protest it to any effect should do so, loudly and publicly.

■ You've read the indignant editorials and listened to the angry pundits, all outraged over Senate majority leader Tom Daschle's decision to shut down the Senate confirmation process in a fit of partisan pique. What, you haven't heard? Well, in truth, there was no media outrage. But there should have been. Starting on May 13, Daschle refused to allow any Bush nominees to clear the Senate. By late June, there were 15 judges, 13 U.S. marshals, two U.S. attorneys, and one Justice Department official—all of whom had been approved by Sen. Patrick Leahy's Judiciary Committee—stacked up, awaiting confirmation votes in the full Senate. Daschle refused to let any through, and yet no one—except a few frustrated Republicans—seemed to notice. And what did Daschle want? For Republicans to drop their opposition to the federal appointments of two of his friends. In the end, there will likely be a deal, but Republicans know there's just one real solution to the problem: to capture the Senate in November.

■ "People need to be conscious of their diet. They need to

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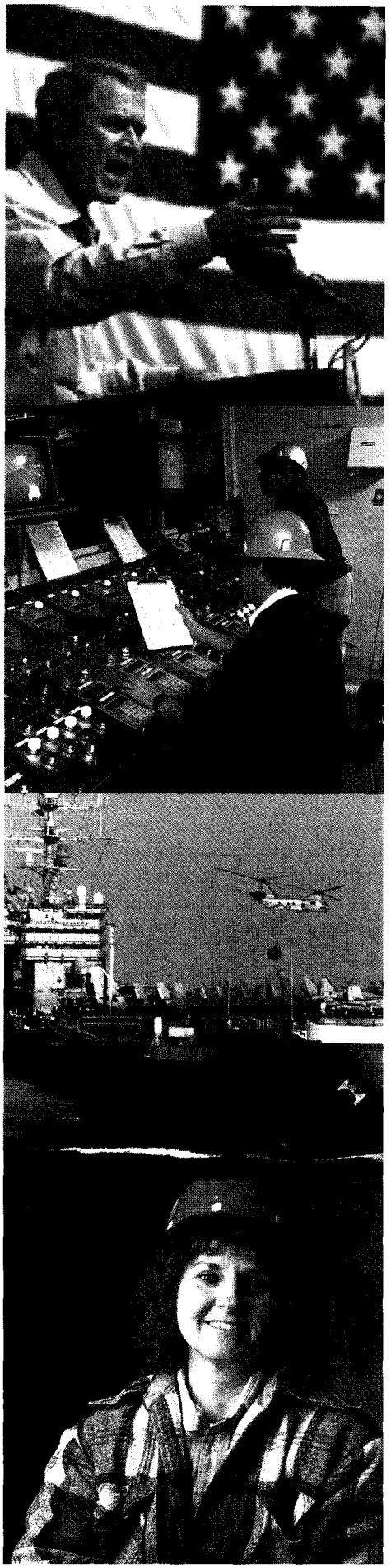

President Bush's Steel Policy is Working for America

The crisis confronting America:

For years the American steel industry has been under assault. The root of the problem — chronic global overcapacity created by foreign steel subsidies and producers choosing to exploit our open markets rather than rationalize and downsize their own industries.

Since 1997, the situation has been at crisis proportions. Over thirty U.S. companies have been forced into bankruptcy. Tens of thousands of steelworker jobs have been lost. The American steel industry — vital to our economy and national security — has been facing a threat to its very existence.

President Bush recognized the looming danger to this bedrock industry and he acted.

President Bush opened the door for recovery:

President Bush forged a plan to help the steel industry recover: short-term tariffs, the opening of foreign markets, and reductions in excess foreign capacity. By imposing Section 201 import relief — based on a unanimous recommendation by an independent bi-partisan commission — President Bush gave American steel the opportunity to get back on its feet.

And that is exactly what is happening. Over the past months, the domestic industry has begun to recover. While losses are still being experienced, prices are stabilizing and, for the first time in years, the longer-term prospects for the industry are improving.

Criticism of the President's program is not based on the facts:

Opponents have argued that modest price restorations in steel products are harming other industries. But the facts tell a very different story. The truth is that today the pricing for every major flat-rolled steel product covered by this relief remains well below the average prices of the last twenty years.

The work is not yet done:

Despite this evidence, the President is being pressured to grant exclusions to a whole range of products. The effect of these exclusions would be to gut the President's program.

We shouldn't go backward. No one should expect the damage caused by decades of foreign steel overcapacity and disruption of the U.S. market to be solved by three months of import relief. The steelworkers and producers of America will continue to work hard to strengthen our industry and restore jobs that have been lost. President Bush's decision was based on the solid principles of fair trade — it deserves full support.

Keep the Steel in America's Strength.

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be careful not to be loading up with fatty foods all the time." So said President Bush in a speech on physical fitness at a senior center in Orlando. Thus begins our newest national crusade against obesity, which even officials in the administration, to say nothing of outside activists, link to the fight against tobacco. What's wrong with this? Every time Bush or someone in his retinue passes a McDonald's, he will be open to the charge of hypocrisy. The *Los Angeles Times* got right on the case, pointing out that the lunch offerings on Air Force One during the flight to Florida included corned-beef sandwiches and steak fries. There is the indignity inherent in almost all uses of the bully pulpit, which too easily becomes a pulpit for bullies. We would have expected an anti-fat initiative from a hard-blowing McCain administration, after campaign-finance reform and a national monument in every backyard. Worst is the misdirection of energy, and the misconception of function. If we wanted personal trainers in the White House, we would have elected Jane Fonda. The President of the United States should tend to war and taxes—our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor—and leave our diets to ourselves.

■ Southwest Airlines, possibly doing its part for the president's fitness agenda, announced that it would require overweight passengers to purchase two seats. Fat-acceptance activists—yes, we have those now, too—are calling Southwest's policy a violation of the civil rights of the obese. But the airline is asking only that passengers pay for what they use and not disadvantage other passengers. If overweight passengers dislike the policy, let them redouble their efforts to shed the excess pounds, or just fly United.

■ Nobody is quite sure what has been causing the stock market to behave so poorly of late, although there are many theories. Its sluggishness may, in part, be self-reinforcing: The bear market makes stockholders more sour toward misbehavior by corporate executives; the widespread unhappiness makes it more likely that the government will impose ill-considered regulations, a risk that in turn depresses the markets. Whatever the explanation, there is no denying that the political climate has turned sharply anti-business, and the new WorldCom mess will make it even worse. Accounting regulations are advancing, state attorneys general are using litigation against politically vulnerable companies to set national policy, higher taxes on stock options may be on the way, and prospects for free trade look grim. Tech policy remains stuck, with the administration unable or unwilling to decide whether it wants to lift the regulatory obstacles to broadband deployment. And then, of course, there are the economic risks posed by terrorism. We had better hope that the market recovers by itself, because it looks unlikely that government policy is going to help it.

■ Although the welfare reform passed in 1996 has been very successful, that success has not been uniform. In many states, welfare recipients can collect most of their benefits even if they refuse to work. Compared with states that have effective work requirements, such states have lagged in moving people off welfare. Most Republicans in Congress want to tighten the law to have real work requirements, but one powerful Republican—Bill Thomas of California—wants to let California and New York continue to shirk work. That's not a minor exemption: Those two states have 32 percent of the nation's welfare recipients, and 75 percent of the ones who face no real work requirement. An exemption cannot be justified by federalist principles, either, since it is largely federal money that the states are spending. If California and New York want to reward idleness, Congress should insist that they do it on their own dimes.

■ The campaign-finance bill that President Bush signed in March was not everything that Sens. McCain and Feingold wanted. In order to pass Congress, the bill had to make concessions on some points and be silent on others. Now that the Federal Election Commission is writing the regulations to implement the bill, McCain and Feingold, among others, say that the FEC ought to follow their pure reformist intentions rather than the law the Congress actually enacted. The bill regulates the financing of "public communications," for example, using a definition of the phrase that does not include (even by implication) Internet communications. So the FEC declined to rule that mass e-mails could be regulated under the law. According to the campaign-finance reformers, that refusal and similar rulings are an attempt to "undermine the law" and "undo the will of the American people." We knew that McCain and company were not fastidious about the Constitution. It turns out that they are equally cavalier about the law they wrote.

■ One of the lessons of the Gingrich years was that Republicans suffer politically when government services shut down, so it comes as no surprise that the Bush administration blinked just as soon as Amtrak's new president, David Gunn, declared that he needed an extra $205 million to keep the trains running. In three decades, Amtrak has accepted $24 billion in federal handouts, much of it to subsidize routes that have little market rationale. The Bush administration has proposed a few sensible reforms, including the sale of track lines and requiring states to pay for some services. It should be bolder, and put Amtrak up for sale. That way, profitable routes along the Boston–New York–Washington axis would continue to operate without being held hostage whenever Amtrak starts demanding more money, and the government could get out of the business of running a train company altogether.

■ Steven Johnson, armed with three pistols, a samurai sword, and a spray bottle of kerosene, stormed a bar in the East Village of New York, and shot and wounded three people before he was overpowered. More lurid, in some

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A Twenty-first-Century Postal Service

Rick Geddes is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor of policy analysis and management at Cornell University.

The price of a first-class stamp will rise from 34 to 37 cents on June 30, 2002, on top of increases in January 1999 and January 2001. Consumers will thus pay billions in added postage. Yet even with the additional revenue and the $675 million Congress approved to offset the cost of the terrorist attacks, the U.S. Postal Service will continue to lose money.

It does not have to work like this. Whereas our postal service remains a government-owned monopoly, other countries have addressed similar concerns through privatization and limitations on, or elimination of, their postal monopolies. Sweden, Finland, New Zealand, and, most recently, the United Kingdom abolished their postal monopolies. Since 1997 all fifteen European Union countries have observed limits on their postal monopolies. Other countries, such as Norway and Australia, have limited their monopolies as well.

Large-scale postal privatization has also occurred. Shares in Germany's Deutsche Post were sold in that country's largest public offering of 2000. A majority of PTT Post, the postal service in the Netherlands, is now privately owned.

International reforms have had positive effects. The basic stamp price in Australia has remained constant, at 40 Australian cents, for ten years. New Zealand *lowered* its basic stamp price from 45 to 40 cents in 1995, and it has remained there ever since. **In contrast to the U.S. Postal Service, reformed postal services have been consistently profitable while paying standard business taxes.** Most reformed postal services have been able to downsize without mass layoffs, instead relying on attrition. Moreover, demonopolized postal services have not sacrificed delivery to rural areas.

Universal service is an important business asset, and firms facing competition have an incentive to maintain it.

Postal reform can enhance the welfare of employees as well as consumers. Employees can be offered shares in the new enterprise at a discount, encouraging employee stock ownership. Employees at all levels would then have a personal stake in the firm, improving its performance.

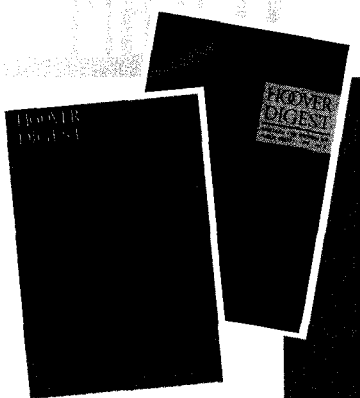
Issuing tradable ownership shares would give the postal service the incentive to maximize profits, creating a variety of social benefits. One of the postal service's problems is its lack of a clear purpose. Instead of pursuing a vague notion of "the public interest," the postal service would be accountable to a well-defined group: its owners.

Under private ownership the postal service would have incentives to reduce costs and become consumer-oriented through improved marketing techniques, adoption of more efficient technologies, improved operations, more effective corporate governance, heightened service quality, and the introduction of more new products. Managerial pay could be tied to reliable measures of firm performance, giving managers the incentive to become more entrepreneurial.

The U.S. Postal Service has been a government-owned monopoly for more than two hundred years, and awkward ways of doing business are entrenched. Vigorous postal reform would create social benefits large enough so that all groups—customers, employees, and taxpayers—would gain. It would follow successful examples in numerous other countries and create a dynamic structure for the postal service that is appropriate for the twenty-first century.

— Rick Geddes

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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ways, than the deed was the reaction of police commissioner Raymond Kelly. During his rampage Johnson screamed, "White people are going to burn tonight," and after his arrest he told detectives, "I wanted to kill as many white people as I could." What did the commish say to that? "It will be categorized as a bias crime, but this was such a bizarre event. This individual was clearly deranged." Warming to his theme, Kelly added, "I wouldn't characterize this as a crime. This is some bizarre event . . ." If Johnson's behavior was only a bizarre event, why are the police detaining him? And if this was not a bias crime, then there are no bias crimes, only crimes against protected classes (blacks, gays, minorities of the month). The law should recognize only crimes, and New York's top cop should concentrate on fighting them, lest Giuliani Time slide into Kelly Time.

■ Zimbabwe was once an orderly and prosperous nation, and a food exporter. Now famine threatens the country. The U.N. World Food Program estimates that up to half of Zimbabwe's 12 million people will very soon require food aid from foreign donors. The response of the government has been to persecute farmers. Under a measure signed by President Mugabe in May, thousands of white farmers face up to two years in prison or heavy fines if they continue to work land designated for redistribution to blacks. Half of Zimbabwe's white farmers have already had their operations disrupted or closed down in the past two years; now 60 percent of the rest must cease work or face jail. Appeals for exemptions so that farmers can finish necessary irrigation or harvesting work are being turned down. Thanks to gross economic mismanagement, the country has no foreign reserves or credit, and the U.N. is having trouble finding aid donors. It now seems certain that Mugabe's hatred of his white citizens (he has publicly referred to them as "white devils") will lead his country into a terrible famine. Where, in these horrors—which have been brewing for years—where are those people who agitated so insistently and successfully for sanctions against white-ruled South Africa?

■ The world's oldest democracy, Iceland, played host to the leader of the world's oldest despotism, China. Preparatory to Jiang Zemin's visit, Beijing provided Iceland's government with a list of members of Falun Gong, the meditation cult they have outlawed in China. The Chinese made plain their desire that none of the listed persons should be on the loose to discomfit Jiang with unsightly demonstrations. Eager to kowtow to their distinguished guest, the Iceland authorities duly sent their police as far afield as Boston, Mass., to make sure that offices and agents of Iceland Air were not selling tickets to Falun Gong practitioners. Some of them who turned up in Iceland anyway—including five U.S. citizens—were arrested. To the great credit of the people of Iceland, this pusillanimous behavior by their government led to widespread protests. Of the many unattractive features of Chinese Communism, one of the worst is their assumption that they can bully and intimidate small, free countries. When Jiang visited Switzerland in March 1999, he was shocked that Tibetan protesters were allowed to demonstrate within earshot of him. "Don't you have the ability to run this country?" he snarled to the Swiss justice minister, apparently unable to understand why the demonstrators had not been flattened by tanks, as they would have been in China. Someone should tell these unelected despots that if they want to be treated as members of the civilized world, as apparently they do, they might begin by developing some sensitivity to the rights and customs of free peoples. Or just some manners.

■ The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has languished in well-deserved obscurity since President Carter submitted it for Senate ratification. Taken seriously, CEDAW is a template for a coercive feminist utopia. Participant states are supposed to modify "the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of . . . all . . . practices which are based on . . . stereotyped roles for men and women." But CEDAW is not meant to be taken seriously. There is no intention of ever enforcing it. Saudi Arabia has cheerfully consented to the convention, with the minor reservation that shari'a law will take precedence over it. The convention is mostly a symbolic achievement for feminists. But Joe Biden and Barbara Boxer are leading a campaign for America to ratify the convention anyway, because he is courting feminists in preparation for a possible presidential run and she is a true believer. The treaty will probably not be ratified, since that would take 67 votes. But expect to hear a lot about how conservatives, by blocking it, are oppressing women worldwide.

■ Cole Porter once wrote a show called *Fifty Million Frenchmen*, which seems to be the goal of Catherine Millet. Ms. Millet is a French art-magazine editor who made a sensation last year with a book describing the hundreds of sexual encounters, mostly anonymous, that she said she has had. French reviewers had a field day with her philosophical pretensions, French book buyers consumed the pornography, and now Americans get to do the same thing with the translation. It is difficult to write about Ms. Millet's performance, when courtesy (which here means the respect owed those we do not know) forbids one to read it. But from the reviews, one gathers that, like most promiscuous behavior, hers had less to do with desire than with the burdens of identity, and the wish to be relieved of them. One wishes for her a stronger future, without much confidence that she can achieve it.

■ Of the most recent recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, three deserve special note. A. M. Rosenthal was a reporter and editor of the *New York Times* for many years, a dyed-in-the-wool liberal who is nevertheless a

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committed anti-Communist, especially where China is concerned. Irving Kristol is the redoubtable public intellectual who led many in the thinking class from their birthright socialism to the neoconservative fold, adding their firepower to the Reagan revolution. Of underrated importance to American history, perhaps, is Nancy Reagan, for 50 years the wife of the most important politician of his time, backing him in his rise to the top and sustaining him now. A better America came about in part because of the support she unfailingly offered her husband during the *longueurs* and the trials of his career.

■ The *Oxford English Dictionary*, the Grand Bazaar of usage, has added a new sense of the word "America"—figuratively, "a place which one longs to reach; an ultimate or idealized destination or aim; an object of personal ambition or desire." John Donne used the word this way. Very nice. But, of course, when Donne wrote, the United States did not yet exist. Ideals are inspiring, but one lives in countries, which require hard work, compromise, and trial and error to create, and sustain.

■ Taki Theodoracopulos, better known by the shorter of his names, was unleashed on the world as a journalist by NATIONAL REVIEW. His mother lode for many years has been his "High Life" column for *The Spectator* of London. He now plans to launch a journal of opinion, *The American Conservative*, with Pat Buchanan and Scott McConnell, in the fall. When they are right, strength to their arms. When they are wrong, as they often will be with Buchanan on the quarterdeck, confound their politics, frustrate their knavish tricks.

■ Our Teacher of the Year is Christine Pelton of Piper, Kansas. When Pelton, a biology teacher at Piper High School, discovered that 25 of her students had completed a botany assignment with plagiarized material, she did what any sensible teacher would do: She failed them. Some, including the school's principal, defended Pelton. But when the plagiarizers' parents complained to the school board, it reduced the assignment's weight and declared that students would receive credit for unplagiarized portions of the project. That meant the cheaters would pass the class—and the honest students would receive less credit for their work. Her authority eviscerated, Pelton resigned in protest. As she had not completed the two years of consecutive teaching necessary to obtain a teaching certificate, Pelton lost her career (she now runs a daycare center from her home), but her courage made her a local hero. Piper's principal and nine other teachers and staff followed Pelton out the door. Members of the Kansas legislature commended her, with one legislator hailing her "defense of honesty in the classroom." Needless to say, we agree.

GILDING THE GILDED AGE

To date, nobody's gone to jail.
A few at Andersen turn pale,
And Merrill's fined a hundred mil;
But with Bermuda where one's till
Lies hidden from the I.R.S.,
A CFO can take the stress.
As for a head of steam, the kind
That made John D.'s regime unwind,
I hear no boilers hissing—though
The buzz is, Mr. Bush could blow.

—W. H. VON DREELE

■ They sneak these things up on you. "[T]he foundation of the Big Ten is built upon a commitment to graduation, as well as sportslike behavior . . ." (Mission statement of the University of Iowa basketball team.) "Sportslike Conduct Rules & Regulations." (Sectional heading in the manual of the St. Louis Intercollegiate Athletic Conference.) "A driver must exhibit sportslike conduct in the staging area . . ." (North Star Sled Dog Club rules.) *Sportslike*? What happened to "sportsmanlike"? You know perfectly well what. Another good word bites the dust, to be replaced with a shoddy plastic substitute.

■ The City Council of—where else?—Berkeley, Calif., is to debate a proposed new ordinance forbidding the sale within city limits of any coffee that is not "Socially and/or Environmentally Correctly Cultivated." The idea behind the measure is that those beastly "big corporations" are mistreating workers, despoiling the environment (in one case they are known to have *cut down trees*), and driving small growers out of business. If the new ordinance is passed, Berkeley's numerous coffee shops will be permitted to sell only coffee grown by farmers who are paid a "living wage" and belong to democratically organized cooperatives. All this is an offshoot of the "fair trade" movement, whose goal is to ban from our stores and supermarkets all products not grown under conditions approved of by the bobos of Berkeley. Who could object to such a measure? Three groups, at least. (1) People in poor countries who might welcome the presence of big corporations, however badly they pay by the standards of American universities, as an opportunity to escape from subsistence dirt farming. (2) American consumers, who will pay higher prices for these "fair trade" products. (3) Those of us who find the arrogant unworldliness of Berkeley intellectuals insufferable.

■ *New York Press* ran an interview with Cliff Preefer, a 43-year-old gay vegan restaurateur in the West Village, and Tek Moore, his 21-year-old pierced and tattooed lesbian waitress. Since March, they have been the parents of Huxley Parker Preefer-Moore. Moore: "We are an unlikely

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couple." Preefer: "At the beginning, I did not want this to be more than friendship. I resisted for many reasons." Moore: "[Sex] took a lot of adjustment for each of us." Preefer: "Initially, I was not sure if this was going to work, because there's so many things that are different." Moore: "We are not having sex with anyone else [but] like any straight couple, we look. I look at women, he checks out men." Preefer: "We are definitely attracted to what we are building here and I don't want to disturb that." Moore: "Right now, I'm in love with Huck. It's difficult to take my eyes off him." Comments? Horace: You can throw nature out with a pitchfork, it will still come back. St. Paul: Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own.

■ Esther Lederer died at 83, after giving advice as Ann Landers for almost 47 years. She was snappy, commonsensical, and liberal at the margin—in favor, for example, of abortion and gun control. But plenty loved her, not unreasonably. R.I.P.

AT WAR

No Ordinary Crime

FREE Jose Padilla! That would be the cry of the civil libertarians if they were to follow their opposition to Padilla's military detention to its logical conclusion. The fact is that the Dirty Bomb suspect, a U.S. citizen, has committed no crime (unless it's illegal even to talk to members of al-Qaeda), and evidence about him has probably not been gathered in keeping with all the rules of the U.S. criminal-justice system. If Padilla should be treated by the normal rules, as critics say, he should be held for a time as a material witness and then let go. He would then walk free until he engaged in a criminal conspiracy that could be nailed down with enough specificity to try him in a U.S. court.

Following the normal rules of the criminal-justice system, however, would be an insane way to run a war. The liberal legal scholar Laurence Tribe, writing in the *New York Times*, was able to grasp the point: "[R]eleasing captured soldiers who belong to an enemy force committed to the murder of American civilians—whether that force is the army of a nation-state or of a transnational organization like Al Qaeda—is suicidal."

Critics fret that Padilla's example shows that the federal government can reach down and designate any U.S. citizen an "enemy combatant," denied all legal rights. (Bear in mind that, so far, this has happened to two U.S. citizens.) But habeas corpus has not been repealed. Padilla's representative can and will challenge the constitutionality of his detention in court. Then he will lose, in all likelihood, because case law, and a fair reading of the Constitution, indicate that the president has the power to designate "enemy combatants" and that the courts should conduct their review of cases like Padilla's with deference to this authority (contravening it only if the executive is clearly operating arbitrarily).

Without this power, how could any president run any war? There is no reason to believe that U.S. citizens are exempt from the executive's authority to designate "enemy combatants" (the Supreme Court addressed this very question in the 1942 *Quirin* decision). So if the executive can't designate Padilla an "enemy combatant," it shouldn't be able to designate anyone else as such either. Or, indeed, to make any combat-related decisions at all. A court would have to sit in judgment of every single bombing target in Afghanistan. That Padilla was caught at O'Hare instead of Mazar-e-Sharif certainly counts for something—we wouldn't drop a bomb on him here. But the administration's critics seem to think that we can treat our enemies as "enemy combatants" only when they are defensively deployed in Afghanistan.

Perhaps the administration should, as part of its emerging system of military detention and trials, create a process to review the facts in cases like Padilla's. But terrorists are not ordinary criminals. They are combatants in a declared war against the United States. If they have lawyers and Fifth Amendment rights, they will be able to refuse to tell us anything other than that we should have read them their *Miranda* rights more carefully (witness the John Walker Lindh trial). Intelligence is crucial to our fight, and interrogation is a crucial way get it. Which is why Jose Padilla needs to sit in a military brig somewhere thinking he is going to have absolutely no recourse for the next 15 to 20 years.

THE COURTS

Usurpation and Abdication

THE Supreme Court issued an outrageous ruling on the death penalty, but it did not inspire much outrage. It was greeted with equanimity because the policy the Court imposed was within the bounds of reasonableness. The Court ruled that the mentally retarded could not be executed. What should cause opposition, and resistance, is not the policy that the Court imposed but the fact that it imposed it—without constitutional warrant—at all.

Nobody believes that the Constitution, as originally understood, bars the execution of criminals with low IQs. The Court did not bother attempting to argue that it does. Instead, it concluded that the practice of executing the retarded offended "evolving standards of decency." Its evidence for this claim was that various professional associations have condemned the practice, some state legislatures have recently prohibited it, and opinion polls have found that the public opposes it. The reasoning is tissue-thin. If a prohibition by some states is evidence that the country

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—*Booklist*

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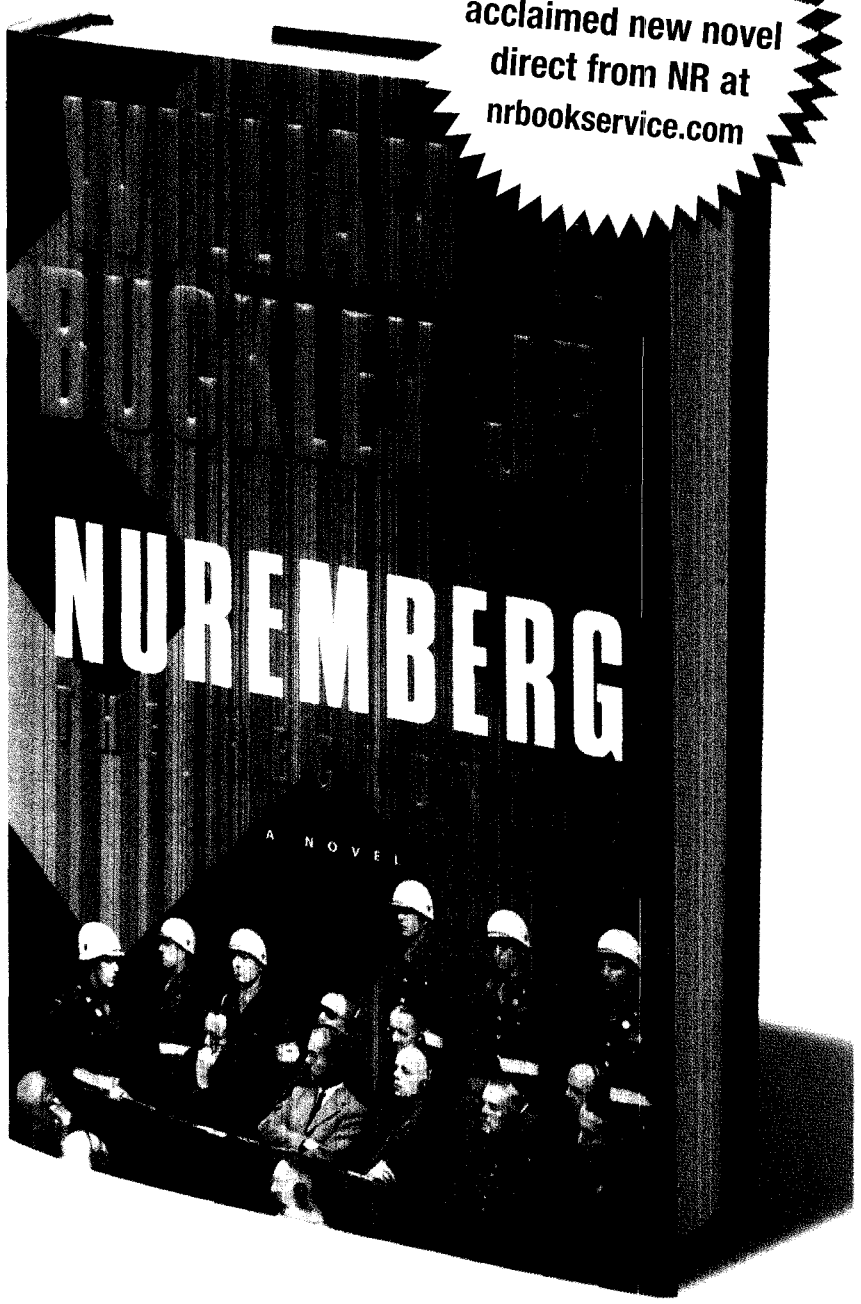

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may be moving toward a consensus against the execution of the retarded, the fact that other states—most states that have the death penalty, in fact—have *not* prohibited it is conclusive evidence that we have not reached that consensus. Besides, reflecting the shifting opinions of the public is not the Court's job. Elected officials are at least as good at reading polls as justices are.

When the death-penalty decision came down, these officials issued no protest at the diminution of their authority. The day before, however, Steve Chabot, a Republican congressman from Ohio, introduced a bill responding to another encroachment by the Supreme Court on legislative authority. In 2000, the Court struck down bans on partial-birth abortions. (These are the abortions, you may recall, in which a fetus is partially delivered, its skull is crushed, and it is then removed from the mother's uterus.)

The Court struck down laws against partial-birth abortion for two reasons. It thought they were worded too vaguely and thus could prohibit too many abortions. Chabot's bill deals with this objection by tightening up the wording. Second, the Court ruled that the bans must have a "health exception." This point is often misunderstood. The Court did not rule that partial-birth abortion must be allowed if the pregnancy threatens the health of the mother. It ruled that it must be allowed if it is the safest method of abortion, whatever the reason for which the abortion is sought. Chabot addresses this objection by adducing findings of fact that partial-birth abortion is never medically necessary, even in the sense the Court had in mind—and that the Court has in the past deferred to congressional findings of fact.

Passage of Chabot's bill is a morally urgent matter. But notice what his bill does not do. It does not challenge the legitimacy of the Court's decision; it tries to undo its worst effects while working within its parameters. The bill jumps through the hoops that the Court, and not the Constitution, has set up—the necessity of "health exceptions," the inadmissibility of restricting too many abortions. We say this not to criticize Chabot, who is, again, doing necessary work while respecting the prevailing assumptions about the Court's authority. But someone ought to challenge those assumptions.

The Court's usurpation of legislative power is, in a way, the lesser of our constitutional deformations. The flip side of the Court's usurpation of power is the other branches' abdication of responsibility. The Framers of the Constitution never expected that a branch of government would always stay within its prescribed boundaries. It expected that when a branch transgressed the limits—particularly if it did so repeatedly—the other branches would respond. It should not be surprising that, in the absence of such a political response, the extra-constitutional habits of today's Court have become ingrained. Congressmen ought to dust off their copies of the Constitution, and look especially closely at Article III, Section 2, which stipulates that the Court's jurisdiction is subject to such "Exceptions" and "Regulations as the Congress shall make."

HEALTH CARE

Prescription for Disappointment

THE current bidding war in Washington over prescription-drug benefits for seniors illustrates what's wrong with our health-care system, and our politics. Americans pay for their health care mostly indirectly, through lost wages and higher taxes. They have no incentive to control costs, which therefore balloon. When the government is picking up the tab, as in the drug-benefit debate, economic reality is left even further behind. Earlier this year, President Bush proposed that $77 billion be spent on these benefits over the next ten years. House Democrats have upped the ante for the same period to—$1 trillion.

When it comes to courting the growing senior vote, nothing is ever enough. Premiums, co-payments, and deductibles must be pushed ever lower. Prescription-drug expenses are a problem for some seniors, but of course the subsidy proposals are not limited only to those in need. The administration initially wanted to combine its new drug benefit with a reform of Medicare that would help pay for it. House Republicans, however, concluded that voters were very interested in the benefits and not much interested in reform. They are behind in the bidding, but no doubt will catch up with time.

To the extent the government pays for prescription drugs, demand for those drugs will increase, as will the cost of the program. We know, from the experience of Medicare, how the federal government will react: by imposing price controls. Which will in turn slow down, if not halt, the medical innovation that a relatively free pharmaceutical industry has provided (and which made drug benefits so attractive in the first place).

If political pressure necessitates a federal plan to cover drug benefits for the elderly, a rational one is on offer—developed by Grace-Marie Turner of the Galen Institute and Joseph Antos of the American Enterprise Institute. Their proposed drug plan would be integrated with other insurance policies, so that there is no incentive for the drug insurers to urge surgery on a patient while his other insurers urge drug therapy. It would not be so generous that it caused people to drop their other coverage to get it. Most important, it would require recipients to have some contact with economic reality. The typical senior who lacks drug coverage pays less than $600 a year for medicine. The government could give him $600 upfront and allow him to keep what he does not spend, thus preserving an incentive to save. It could provide him with insurance for expenses above that amount, charging realistic premiums, deductibles, and co-payments (with allowances for poverty).

But realism is not the order of the day. The prevailing pretense is that benefits can be had for nothing and that no one need ever make trade-offs. Until that changes, debate over prescription-drug benefits is strictly for fantasists.

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■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Old-timers in and around National Review (1955–1968) will have known Gertrude Vogt. She was my secretary and office manager and, like her successor, ran the shop, with her quiet, feral will. Her passion was books, and she had worked under the legendary Isabel Paterson at the *New York Herald Tribune* Book Review. She married, was widowed, and lived with, and cared for, her mother, with her characteristic, efficient affection. Exercising her custodial concern for her employer, she gave a two-year notice of her departure, and arranged for her successor to cohabit at the office for several months, to accustom her to the particular strains of the job. Then, reaching 65, she went off to live in San Francisco, near to her son in Sacramento.

She loved to walk great distances, and did so whenever she wasn't reading books or listening to music. Her apartment was trim and book-lined, with only a few decorations, one of them an original oil painting depicting (or trying to) five sailboats racing to the mark. They bore identifications, "ILG-1," 2, 3, 4, and 5. "What class is that?" she asked, accepting the gift. The "I Love Gertrude" class, she was told, and the painting might have depicted a thousand such boats.

She died last week in Sacramento, close to her grandson and nine-month-old great-grandchild. If she had lived until June 30, she'd have been 100.

—WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: With all due respect (by which I mean my mother told me I'd be stupid to question you), I don't think you correctly answered Mr. Kyllonen on the subject of "women pilots" (April 22).

While it may be common usage to use "women" as an adjective, we do not use "men" in the same way (as in "men teachers" or "men nurses"). "Male" is the accepted adjective in those cases, and also in the singular. I know women are special, but I think we should also be correct. So, tell me, is my mother right?

Catherine Ortiz
Kensington, Calif.

Dear Ms. Ortiz: I think you're right, technically. But there is something in the sound of "female" that has a clinical connotation, as in a female plug. The distinctions are vulnerable, but they persist. As with the decree that you should never use the word "lady" unless, in complementary circumstances, you would use the word "gentleman." But it doesn't work, really, does it? *Come on, lady.* Ditto with female/male.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I fail to see the point of Mr. Kyllonen's letter about the use of "women pilots."

The use of a noun as an adjective is one of the outstanding characteristics of English: *glass dish, walnut tree, cheese soufflé.* What significance does "double plural" have? I can have "men dress designers," "women engineers," etc., ad infinitum. I suppose the only restriction is that the modified word must indicate persons; something like "woods stakes" seems impossible.

The letter from Lisa L. Whitfield in the same issue seems to miss the point also. "If I were" is contrary to fact in the present (or perhaps the future). "If I was" is past. The third-person singular of "to be" is the only place the distinction holds; otherwise, present is indistinguishable from past except by context: *If it were a fire, we would hear the engines. / If it was a fire, we would have heard the engines.* In any event, "He who deals with counterfactuals will surely go mad."

John Paul Wonder
Stockton, Calif.

Dear Mr. Wonder: A public oath: Never will we deal with counterfactuals. Thanks for your illuminating letter.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: For the Record (April 8) says: "Bush, on [the] six-month anniversary of 9/11 . . ."

I am slowly getting used to such illiteracy in our mainstream media. But National Review? The Latin word means "returning yearly": How do you make something returning yearly come back after six months? Doesn't the connection with the word "annual" give you a clue? Or has NR jumped on the bandwagon of dumbing down the language, perverting yet another perfectly useful English word?

Dr. K. A. Skapa
Denver, Colo.

Dear Dr. Skapa: You are right. On behalf of past, present, and future editors, we apologize.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: You recently suggested that Abigail Adams might have written many more letters had she had e-mail. E-mail, unlike letters written with pen and ink, is ephemeral. Future historians will be deprived of the wealth of material supplied by our letter-writing ancestors.

Edith P. Hawkins
Houston, Tex.

Dear Ms. Hawkins: Not necessarily, as e-mails are easily saved. Indeed, most are, for convenience in filing.

Cordially,

—WFB

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■ POLITICS ■

Bringing the War 'Home'

Go ahead: Make it a political issue

RAMESH PONNURU

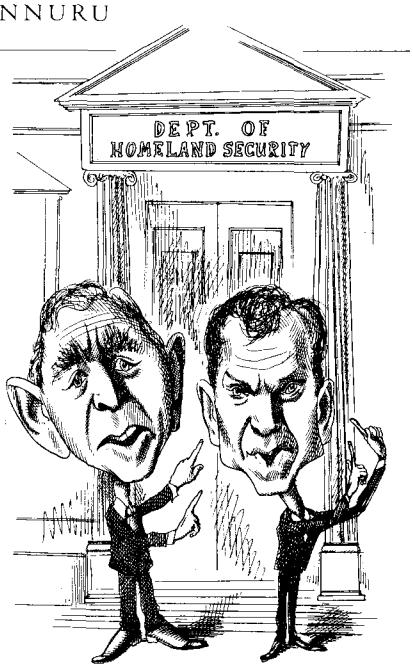
At the start of the war, liberals worried that President Bush and the Republicans were going to exploit the conflict for partisan or ideological ends. This fear was reasonable. The war did indeed put Republicans in a strong political position, and they might have been expected to use that strength to advance their policy agenda. But it's not turning out that way.

In the area of domestic policy, Democrats are having at least as good a war as Republicans are. Yes, Bush was able to win an increase in defense spending. But he has not gotten Congress to cut taxes or to allow more energy production. Democrats, on the other hand, were able to federalize airport-security workers within two months of the attacks. They have also taken advantage of voters' inattention to domestic issues. They have blocked Bush's judges without paying a price. The farm bill that recently passed Congress expands the subsidies that have kept the Democratic party alive in socially conservative rural states. Without the war, it might have been debated.

If Republicans continue the political strategy that has yielded these results, they could suffer serious defeats in the November elections—losing seats in the Senate and maybe even losing control of the House.

The Democrats have been as successful as they have been only because Republicans have not politicized the war. They have not, for example, used the war to point out the folly of liberal positions on racial profiling, border control, and multiculturalism. Bush could have asked for a bigger increase in the defense budget than Democrats could tolerate, and then fought over the issue. (He would have won.) Instead, he opted for an increase that could pass Congress easily.

Bush has reasons for playing nice. The armed forces didn't need a congressional debate; they needed money, quickly. We'd all rather have Bush concentrate on defeating our enemies abroad than on beating his opponents at home. Picking public fights with the Democrats does not come naturally to Bush, and on some of the issues where liberals might be vulnerable because of the war—e.g., immigration and racial profiling—he actually shares their positions. But whatever his reasons for adopting it, the current Republican strategy is a dangerous one for the GOP.



Bush and Daschle by Roman Genn

The strategy has five components. First, champion further tax cuts—Republicans are still willing to fight over them. Second, attack Democrats on procedural issues. (Criticize Daschle as an "obstructionist," that is, rather than make the case for the judges and bills he's obstructing.) Third, blur differences on domestic issues other than taxes: Offer watered-down versions of the Democrats' prescription-drug subsidies, run away from Social Security reform, etc. Fourth, use policy to woo discrete groups, tariffs for steel workers being the most notorious example. Fifth, count on the fact that voters trust Republicans on national security and that President Bush is popular to lift the party's candidates to victory in November.

The new push for a Department of Homeland Security fits perfectly with this strategy. Republicans think it will move the political debate to their terrain. Tod Lindberg made this case in *The Weekly Standard*: Congressional Democrats will be too tied up with the reorganization of security agencies to talk about the environment, prescription drugs, and their other favored issues. Democrats will instead have to talk about security, a Republican issue.

But the new department could end up being a political debacle for Republicans. It shares the basic flaw of the party's overall strategy: It provides no reasons for conservatives, or anyone else, to think it important to elect Republicans.

Let's start with conservatives. Midterm elections are famously "base elections," in which parties win or lose depending on whether they mobilize their core supporters (and not on whether they appeal to fence-sitters). But the avoidance of fights with Democrats, the blurring of issue distinctions, and often the pandering to interest groups all tend to dispirit the GOP's conservative base. Karl Rove has already expressed concern that conservative turnout fell in 2000. Conservative voters strongly support Bush, but that support may not be a reason for them to go to the polls this year, when he's not on the ballot.

There are plenty of security issues in which the Republican base takes an interest: military action against Iraq, missile defense, arming pilots, racial profiling, border control, and accountability for errant security officials. Whether the Coast Guard is fully or partly in a Department of Homeland Security is not one of these issues. If anything, conservative voters are likely to be unhappy about the expansion of government that is almost certain to accompany reorganization.

It's especially important for Republicans to use legislative fights to mobilize their troops since Democrats are better at using other means of communicating with their voters. They have the media, and they have better get-out-the-vote

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ARM YOURSELF WITH THE ULTIMATE PLAN FOR BATTLING PROSTATE CANCER

Baltimore, MD-- It takes just two seconds for your doctor to say "you've got prostate cancer"...and in that blink of an eye, your whole life changes. Suddenly, you and your family are fighting for your life. *You've got to hit the cancer with everything you've got*...and now there's an action plan that puts it all together for you.

You'll start your program by learning about the new "gold standard" in early detection that's **making PSA tests obsolete!**

Your next step is to remove cancer's secret "food supply." Yes, just like anything else that grows, cancer needs sources of nourishment. So it only makes sense to eliminate these newly discovered **secret tumor triggers**.

Scientists have uncovered new clues about the *causes* of prostate cancer, but this urgent information hasn't reached patients yet! But from now on, *you'll* be avoiding them or blocking their effects.

Then it's time to attack any tumors that may already exist. This is the one area where your doctor is probably concentrating most...and don't get me wrong, I'm *not* trying to upset the apple cart here. But I'll bet he's already encouraged you to read up on your therapy. You and your doctor are a team! If he's good, he wants you to be involved. And, as you'll see, in the last few years alone...

Conventional therapy has leaped light-years ahead. So much so, that literature published just last year can be useless or much worse. For example, right now I'm looking at a best-seller from my local bookstore that claims to be the last word in prostate cancer treatment. It confidently states that *radical prostate surgery* is your safest, surest cure. But did you know...?

* **Only 4% of English urologists** still favor radical prostate surgery...
* **A Dartmouth University study** now declares it of "questionable value" for many men...

And new surgical techniques are yielding better results in many cases, with fewer side-effects. Like the new laser surgery that's virtually pain-free and doesn't even cause bleeding. Or the *cryosurgery* breakthrough that can have you home the next day, *with your potency intact*.

Doesn't this sound like stuff *you* should know about?

Then, if your doctor has suggested any kind of *radiation therapy*...**learn about the revolution in radiation**.

It's a similar story here. Radiation "seeding" used to be the cutting edge, but new technologies may yield even better results. And you'll discover which may be right for you.

And if you're considering hormone treatments, there's a lot of great news on this front. Older techniques can shrink your scrotum and enlarge your breasts. Newer ones don't, yet they starve tumors so completely, they're even proving effective for later-stage prostate cancer.

Then, if your condition warrants it, you'll learn how to **upgrade your conventional cancer-fighting program** with cutting-edge immune-boosting therapies. You'll learn if they're right for you, and if so, how to incorporate them into your program. Sure, maybe you *don't* need them -- but find out. Your life could depend on it!

Plus you'll learn how to *double* the cancer-fighting power of everything else you may already be doing, by beefing up your body's natural defense forces:

No matter what you're already doing, don't ignore the NEWEST NATURAL THERAPIES

Many of these are so effective and safe, they're truly a no-brainer. Evidence mounts that they do much more than simply attack the cancer. They can also *multiply* the benefits of conventional therapy...and assure that tumors never crop up anywhere again. No wonder so many traditional doctors are busily boning up on this formerly forbidden area.

But chances are your doctor is still pretty new to this entire field. So you've got to help him work the best ones into your battle plan.

Next, you'll find out *how to combine* all the best of these vitamins, minerals, herbs, plus some key fatty acids and other nutrients -- into *the ultimate prevention and cancer-defense program*. And if there's only one part of the book you follow, make it this one, my friend! Because, even if you've already wiped out the cancer in your body, we want to *keep* you cancer-free for the rest of your long life.

Yes, the battle against prostate cancer *can* feel overwhelming...and that's exactly how it defeats many men. *But you're not going to be one of them*. Because this book will help you *make sense* out of chaos and put you back in charge.

It's called ***How to Fight Prostate Cancer and Win***. Brand-new and fully updated, it's the latest edition of the all-time classic by famed health reporter William L. Fischer. And whether you're actively fighting cancer or want to ensure you never get it, this blockbuster book is a must-see. Because...**researchers have come a long, long way in just a few short years**.

And this is the book with the very latest, lifesaving information. Just one of these discoveries could tip the odds decisively in your favor...and together, they bring a power to bear beyond the scope of any single therapy.

You'll be getting the straight story, with no sugar-coating. Because William L. Fischer has no ax to grind for either traditional *or* complementary medicine. He's famous in medical circles for his even-handed, objective approach. He lays out *all* the latest facts in easy-to-understand language -- and provides statistical details that your doctor will appreciate.

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organizations than Republicans. Homeland security won't really tie up the Democrats: Gephardt doesn't need the floor of Congress to scare core Democrats about Republican plans to re-institute lynching, despoil the earth, and throw old folks into the snow.

Now take swing voters. It's true that the public trusts Republicans, and especially Bush, on security issues. But a Republican candidate cannot expect to get a boost from merely belonging to the same party as Bush—unless, that is, there are security issues where his positions are superior to his Democratic opponent's.

Could homeland security be such an issue? Under certain circumstances, perhaps. Democratic congressman Steny Hoyer has said that Bush is trying to use Homeland Security "as a ruse" to undermine federal workers' civil-service protections. Those protections, among other things, make it hard to reassign Border Patrol agents to where they are most needed. So Republicans could justifiably charge that the Democrats are putting their constituents' job security ahead of national security. Will they? Probably not: Tom Ridge has assured Ted Kennedy he has no intention of undermining collective-bargaining agreements.

If there's no fight to be had—or no fight that engages the passions of anyone outside Washington—then the reorganization merely gives the Democrats a piece of the security issue. Democrats can't order strikes on al-Qaeda bases, and they're not going to get to Bush's right on indefinite detentions for suspected terrorists. But Paul Wellstone can talk about fiddling with the organizational charts just as comfortably as Trent Lott can. Instead of exploiting Republicans' strength on security issues, reorganization dissipates it.

There's another point to be made about the Republicans' hope that homeland security will drown out debate on domestic issues. So far, this is shaping up to be the fourth election in a row in which Republicans have wanted to avoid such debate. In 1996, congressional Republicans tried to win on the basis of pork, incumbency, and local issues. They lost nine seats in the House.

They did the same thing in 1998. In addition, they hoped that disgust with President Clinton's sex-and-perjury scandal would win them elections. They didn't argue that people should vote for them because they would hold Clinton accountable. They just assumed that the scandal would drown out the Democratic message. They lost five seats. In 2000, Republicans banked on "Clinton fatigue" again, and lost two seats. Through this whole period, not coincidentally, conservative turnout fell.

Now it's the war on terror that's supposed to help Republicans. Once again, this help will have to be serendipitous. Republicans are not attempting to demonstrate that electing Republicans will in fact improve national security. And this time, they have only a six-seat majority in the House.

Republicans last won House seats in 1994, when they nationalized the midterm elections. They ran on popular conservative issues and drew clear distinctions with the Democrats. They sought, among other things, a "realignment" in American politics that would make Republicans the dominant party. That, in turn, would enable them to enact an ambitious agenda (as the Democrats did from 1932 to 1938 and again in 1965 and 1966).

The Republicans of 1994 and 1995 were guilty of hubris, talking, unconservatively, about a "Republican revolution." But those days are long past. Republicans don't even talk about realignment anymore. The GOP is now a status quo party. It seeks to advance on the margins, if at all. It thinks more about what short-term tactical concessions it should make than about what long-term strategic opportunities are available. Since the modern welfare state moves politics systematically to the left, a conservative party that turns timid on tactics becomes, over time, statist in substance as well.

Such timidity is understandable when the parties are at parity and any small move could tip the balance. But the war creates an opportunity to overturn that balance. It should be the dominant issue in the midterm elections. Whether to invade Iraq is, after all, the most important question before America today. There are real, albeit submerged, differences between the parties on this and related issues. If the war does not dominate the elections, Republicans will not make significant advances in 2002. But for the war to be a political issue, Republicans have to be willing to politicize it. **NR**

■ **POLITICS II** ■

A Bureaucracy with a Difference?

Hopes and fears for the 'homeland' force

KATE O'BEIRNE

WITH his plan for a new conglomerate federal agency dedicated to domestic defense, President Bush has reignited an old battle—with higher stakes than the predictable turf fights over the 22 agencies slated for new management. The president's proposal anticipates a wholly new personnel system for the new agency, instead of placing it under the same rules as the rest of the federal civil-service system. If the administration succeeds in elevating the need for domestic security over federal workers' desire for ironclad job security, Bush officials will have the authority to create a unique workforce of 170,000 accountable—which is to say, fireable—government employees.

George W. Bush is only the latest chief executive to see how a president's fury is often no match for the rules and regulations governing the divine rights of federal workers. When the INS notified a Florida flight school, precisely six months after the September 11 attacks, that student visas had been approved for two of the hijackers, Bush was steamed—telling reporters, "I was stunned and not happy. Let me put it another way, I was plenty hot . . . I could barely get my coffee down when I opened up my local newspaper." He explained that he had expressed his outrage to attorney general John Ashcroft, who "got the message—and so should the INS."

Under the present rules, however, Bush will be a former chief executive long before the INS employees responsible for the embarrassing episode are former federal workers. Two days later, it was reported that the four responsible INS career

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Aid to Israel
Does the U.S. get its money's worth?

Israel and Egypt are the two largest recipients of U.S. aid. For its "participation" in the Gulf War, Egypt was forgiven its indebtedness of $9 billion. Israel pays its bills. It receives $2.8 billion every year. Of that amount, $2.0 billion is for military aid and $0.8 billion for economic aid. It's fair to ask whether this is a good deal for the American taxpayer.

What are the facts?

The only democratic country in the Middle East. Israel is the only genuinely democratic state in the Middle East. It is committed to freedom and equality, and the rule of law. It embodies the fundamental values that are in tune with those of America and that America has traditionally supported.

Israel's military and political importance in the Middle East and its strategic position stabilize the entire area, including the oil fields of the Persian Gulf. During the Cold War, it was America's indispensable rampart against the inroads and expansionist ambitions of the Soviet Union. It is now a western bulwark against the aggressive intents of Iran, Iraq, and other bellicose nations that threaten the interests of the United States. It is a most reliable partner in the promotion of Western strategic interests and in the stabilization of the Middle East. Over 20% of its budget goes for defense, compared to 7% in the U.S. and less than 1% in Japan. Israel has one of the best armies in the world. Its navy and air force are the major deterrent forces in the eastern Mediterranean.

Israel effectively secures NATO's southeastern flank, without having a single American soldier stationed in its territory. Still, the superb military installations, the air and sea lift capabilities, the equipment and food storage capacity, and the trained manpower to maintain and repair sophisticated U.S. equipment are instantly at hand in Israel. It is the only country in the area that makes itself available to the United States, in any contingency.

> "American aid to Israel is a two-way street. Aid to Israel is America's greatest defense bargain."

Only fraction of aid stays in Israel. There is no other country in the Middle East except Israel that can be considered to have a stable government or populace friendly to the United States. There is much danger that any military aid to Arab countries, and military equipment given or sold to them, will suffer the same fate as the untold billions of dollars and priceless military secrets that were lost to our enemies in the debacle of Iran. Is Saudi Arabia more stable? Egypt? Jordan? Kuwait? Judge for yourself!

Only a fraction of the aid given stays in Israel. By far the largest share remains with American defense contractors. Peter McPherson, former administrator of the Agency for International Development, estimated that every billion dollars of aid to Israel creates 60,000 to 70,000 jobs in the United States.

Compared to the $2.0 billion yearly military aid to Israel, the U.S. contributes more than $130 billion(!) every year to the defense of Europe and more than $30 billion to the defense of Japan, Korea, and the Far East. Over 300,000 U.S. troops are stationed with NATO and over 30,000 U.S. troops in the Far East. In contrast, not one single U.S. soldier needs to be stationed and put at risk in Israel. U.S. military analysts estimate that the U.S. would have to spend the equivalent of $150 billion a year in the Middle East to maintain a force equivalent to Israel's.

There are many other benefits that the U.S. military derives from Israel. Israel is the only country that has gained battlefield experience with U.S. weapons. This experience is immediately conveyed to the U.S. Enormous quantities of captured Soviet weapons and defense systems were turned over to the U.S. military for analysis. Israel, in the light of its experience, continually modifies U.S. weapons systems. For instance, Israeli scientists have made over 200 improvements in the F-15 alone and similar improvements, mostly in avionics, in later-generation planes. It would be more in line with reality if military aid to Israel were classified as part of the defense budget, rather than as "aid". Israel is truly America's unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Middle East. Former President Reagan put it well: "The fall of Iran has increased Israel's value as perhaps the only remaining strategic asset in the region on which the United States can fully rely." American aid to Israel is a two-way street. Aid to Israel is America's greatest defense bargain.

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employees were reassigned to other jobs in the INS and the Justice Department, but wouldn't face any disciplinary action. That same day, Ashcroft, who is responsible for enforcing all federal laws, petitioned Congress for the fundamental managerial control over the INS he currently lacks.

Ashcroft explained to the chairmen of the Justice appropriations subcommittees that there could be no effective oversight of the INS "during this crucial period" without the authority "to quickly discipline or terminate individuals for acts of negligence, mismanagement, or disregard for [DOJ] policies." For the previous four years, the subcommittees had provided limited authority to discipline derelict INS employees; this year the authority lapsed.

The president's proposal for the Department of Homeland Security, which will have the third-largest federal workforce, would grant the new secretary the authority to waive the civil-service rules that frustrate the most powerful government official in the world. Without the reform, the new agency's managers would have to live with the current cumbersome system that demoralizes high performers and protects bad employees.

As a former Reagan appointee at the Office of Personnel Management and former Republican staff director on the House civil-service subcommittee, George Nesterczuk is a veteran of two decades of battles over federal personnel reform. He agrees with the Bush administration that changes in personnel policy are fundamental to the success of the new department. Without reform, managers responsible for protecting American lives from lethal danger will be hamstrung by a personnel system that, Nesterczuk explains, has four basic problems.

First, it can be terribly difficult to hire federal workers; the process frequently takes three to four months. Several years ago, a Congressional Research Service report identified 180 federal race and gender preferences that govern much of the hiring. Second, negotiated union contracts prevent the efficient use of resources by dictating assignment policies for covered workers; this will undermine the president's effort to establish what he calls an "agile organization" capable of meeting "a new and constantly evolving threat."

Third, the ability to discipline federal workers is virtually theoretical. The ordeal federal managers face should they be among the few who attempt to discipline derelict employees provides the horror stories that frustrated reformers trade among themselves. Nesterczuk recalls the case of a federal employee found to be dealing drugs who couldn't be fired because an administrative law judge held that his illegal activity wasn't job-related. No fewer than four independent agencies are available for appeals from disgruntled employees, creating an environment designed to intimidate federal managers. In these friendly forums, federal employees file workplace-discrimination claims at roughly ten times the rate of workers in the private sector. At a hearing a few years ago, an official of a public-employee union acknowledged that most federal agencies house "turkey farms" for workers no one is able to get off the payroll. Federal managers have testified about having to contend with the "frequent filers" in the ranks who initiate phony grievances against supervisors who even hint that disciplinary action might be taken against them.

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Changes in personnel policy are fundamental to the success of the new department.

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A recent study found that of the 100,260 to 124,650 federal workers identified as poor performers, about 3 percent were removed, less than 0.1 percent demoted, and 88 percent given pay raises. The civil service's rigid pay system—which guarantees automatic pay increases for all federal workers—is the fourth fundamental problem preventing the creation of a responsive workforce. Because compensation is based on seniority, there is little money to reward newer, better-performing employees. The decision of whether to seek employment elsewhere—which private-sector employees face when they aren't promoted and don't receive salary increases—is never confronted by a federal employee who just has to keep showing up in order to be rewarded. This merit-free pay scheme is so sacrosanct that Nesterczuk predicts "unions will die over automatic pay increases."

The chance that this system might be reformed by a cabinet secretary with broad authority has unhinged the civil service's most dedicated Capitol Hill defenders. Democratic congressman Steny Hoyer, who represents Maryland suburbs heavily populated with federal workers, accuses the Bush administration of creating the new department "as a ruse" to undermine his constituents' job rights. Sen. Ted Kennedy has reportedly (and unnecessarily) advised the unions to prepare for battle, and Rep. Tom Lantos, California Democrat, has warned that preservation of the status quo system is "non-negotiable." With the White House insisting that management flexibility is crucial to the effectiveness of the new department, Senate majority leader Tom Daschle has declared, "There is unanimous [Democratic] opposition to the administration's proposal to circumvent the civil-service laws of the country, as they are contemplating. We can't do that. We're not going to rewrite or totally exempt this or any federal agency from the laws pertaining to civil service."

But, on that last part at least, Daschle was mistaken: Congress has already granted the Internal Revenue Service the authority to waive civil-service rules in favor of a new personnel system. And last fall, in exchange for federalizing the workforce of airport screeners, Daschle's Democrats agreed to allow the Transportation Security Administration to adopt new personnel rules. (Feeling threatened, the American Federation of Government Employees and its congressional allies have been aggressively lobbying the agency to retain the status quo personnel policies.)

Whether the new Department of Homeland Security will merely represent an expensive reshuffling of dysfunctional agencies depends on the president's willingness to take Tom Daschle to task for putting his party's solicitude for public-sector unions over the need to protect the country against terrorism. Will Bush do it? Following reports that homeland-security director Tom Ridge intended to reassure unions that collective-bargaining rights would be honored, an administration source insisted that Ridge was walking the administration's approved fine line. When OMB director Mitch Daniels was asked recently whether the administration "will go to the mat" over the need for flexible managerial control over the reshuffled workforce, he replied: "The safety of Americans demands it."

If the president agrees, he can look forward to signing pink slips for those INS employees. **NR**

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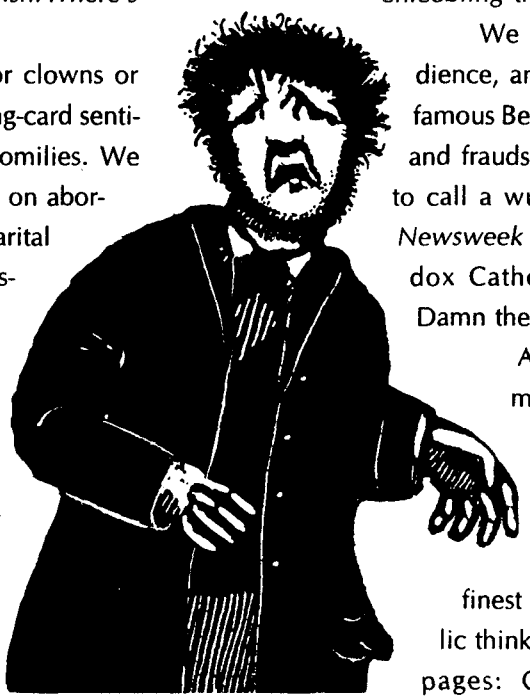
Why Are Catholics Such Wimps?

The Vatican thunders against abortion, same-sex "marriage," priestesses, assisted suicide, illicit sex, consumerism, smutty sex education, defective theology, and more. But walk into your average parish. *Where's the beef?*

All we get are *crumbs*: balloons or clowns or liturgical dancers or banners with greeting-card sentiments, but always vacuous feel-good homilies. We don't hear about the Church's teachings on abortion, euthanasia, homosexuality, pre-marital sex, pornography, birth control, the indissolubility of marriage, Hell, etc. Why not? "Too controversial," whines the cowardly pastor. Pop psychology and Political Correctness are all the go. Shack-ups and homosexual partnerships are considered morally equivalent to Holy Matrimony, for Father Fluff doesn't refer to husbands and wives as husbands and wives anymore — now he calls them "partners," just like people in immoral unions, lest those living in sin feel "marginalized" or, well, sinful. Indeed, sin and repentance are passé, prompting one to wonder why Christ bothered to get crucified.



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■ AT WAR ■

The Saudi Pipeline

Petro-dollars, Palestinian terror—and a U.S. blind eye

JOEL MOWBRAY

MORAL clarity, it seems, is always in danger when the U.S. foreign-policy establishment gets around to addressing the issue of Saudi Arabia. Documents of indisputable authenticity, captured by Israel during its West Bank incursion earlier this year, show in stunning detail how Saudi petro-dollars are fueling Palestinian terrorism; to which documents the U.S. State Department is turning a very deliberate blind eye.

The Bush administration has endeavored to cut off funding for terrorist networks by freezing assets and blocking terrorists' access to banks in nations allied to the U.S. It is apparent, however, that some Saudi cash was transferred to Palestinian terrorists by way of the Cairo-Amman Bank in Egypt—which is to say, it passed through *two* nations that are our nominal allies. How could funds headed for known terrorist organizations have moved unchecked through systems in these countries? Some of the Saudi funds actually reached a Hamas-allied group, the Tulkarm Charity Committee (TCC), by going through banks in an even more surprising place: the United States. Financial binders found at TCC's West Bank offices showed Saudi fund transfers through both Chase Manhattan Bank and Citibank in New York State.

Given that the Treasury Department has compiled a list of known terrorists and terrorist organizations—with which U.S. banks are forbidden to do business—it would appear that these banks have made a colossal error, and failed to follow a pretty clear presidential order to block terrorist funds.

Unfortunately, though, this perception is incorrect. In fact, neither the Saudi organization primarily responsible for funding Palestinian terrorism nor the TCC is found in the president's executive order listing group and individual sponsors of terrorism. This should be at least somewhat surprising, given the wealth of information showing that Saudis gave money explicitly intended for families of homicide bombers and other terrorists. But it's less surprising when you consider that the State Department is in the business of burying the truth about Saudi Arabia. In May, secretary of state Colin Powell was asked on NBC's *Meet the Press* whether the Saudis were giving money to families of homicide bombers; despite clear evidence to the contrary, he responded that he believed the Saudi line that the funds were being used purely for humanitarian aid.

The documents Israel found in the West Bank constitute a substantial paper trail connecting terrorists to the House of Saud. Memos show that Saudi funds came into the Palestinian territories as block grants for families of terrorists and others, with individual payments made to recipients explicitly listed by the Saudis.

The Saudi Committee for Support of the Intifada Al Quds—Al Quds is the Arabic phrase for Jerusalem—spearheaded a much-publicized $109.6 million Saudi fundraising telethon for Palestinian "martyrs," and is also the subject of the most damning evidence. Even before the telethon, the group had transferred at least $55.7 million to various groups in the West Bank and Gaza; according to informed sources, the actual amount most likely is significantly higher than that. The Saudi Committee—headed by Saudi interior minister Prince Nayif bin Abd al-Aziz and financially supported by the royal family—knowingly gave money to homicide bombers and other terrorists responsible for attacks that killed more than 90 Israelis and wounded over 600. And that's just in the last of ten payment rounds.

The TCC, which received the funds from the Saudis, works hand-in-glove with Hamas, the group responsible for 40 percent of the homicide bombings during the intifada. The TCC doles out social and welfare benefits to Palestinians, and thus constitutes the chief means by which Hamas buys support among the Palestinian people. The headquarters of this supposedly humanitarian group had materials encouraging the murder of Jews, and even a celebratory poster of the homicide bomber who murdered 29 and injured 140 in the Netanya Passover massacre.

And, contrary to Secretary Powell's belief that Saudi cash was used for humanitarian purposes, money was specifically earmarked for known terrorists: *The Saudi Committee listed the names of the terrorists, as well as the locations of the attacks.* Out of the 106 names on the list of the last of the ten "block grants"—the only one fully analyzed by Israel so far—more than one-third of the recipients were families of terrorists, including eight homicide bombers.

The Saudi Committee claims to support the Arafat regime, but it has funneled most of its largess through Hamas-affiliated organizations. In a series of urgent letters to Saudi officials shortly after the start of the intifada, Arafat complained: "The Saudi committee responsible for transferring the contributions to beneficiaries is sending large sums to radical committees and associations, including the Islamic Association, which belongs to Hamas, and brothers belonging to the Jihad in all areas." Arafat said that funding Hamas "strengthens these brothers"—and thus undermines "the rule of the PA over its people."

By Roman Genn

Mr. Mowbray is a contributor to National Review Online and a Townhall.com columnist.

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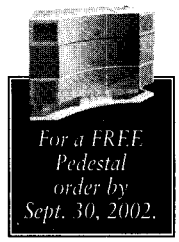
The Saudi funding of Hamas is probably designed less to destabilize Arafat than to protect the Saudi ruling elite. The Heritage Foundation's James Phillips notes that the funding for terrorists is very much of a piece with Saudi Arabia's overall approach to foreign policy: "buying peace internally by pointing terrorism elsewhere." This protection-racket theory explains why Saudi cash was spread so broadly: One terrorist block grant was designated for 500 prisoners, and an internal PA memo suggests that one of the two main sources of regular monthly funding for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad was Saudi.

The State Department has full knowledge of the terrorist activities of both the Saudi Committee and the TCC, yet has done nothing to curb the finances of either organization. Why? State's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs (NEA) is "holding on like tigers to the Mideast peace process and Saudi Arabia," explains a senior administration official—which means, in practice, that many groups openly funding terrorism in the Mideast are given a free pass by America's career diplomats. Another administration official says that NEA careerists are so enamored with Arab states—including Saudi Arabia—that they "would not let facts get in the way of their analysis." The official goes on to say: "No one seriously doubts the veracity of the information contained in [the documents seized by Israel]." The NEA knows of the documents, and does not dispute their authenticity; it just refuses to attach any significance to the uncontested evidence that Saudi dollars fuel terrorism.

The conspicuous absence of the Saudi Committee and the TCC from the "block-and-freeze" list is symptomatic of a larger problem in the vital financial component of the war against terrorism. Though the executive order was greeted with great fanfare at its signing less than two weeks after 9/11, the effort has since run aground, with a mere 210 names currently on the list. Considering that al-Qaeda has cells in at least 60 nations and that the list contains both groups and individuals, 210 worldwide (two of which are Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda) is a paltry number. A glaring example of the glacial pace of the list's compilers is that the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, which has claimed credit for more homicide bombings than any other terrorist entity and is part of Arafat's machine, was added to the list only on March 27, 2002—fully six months after the executive order was signed. More damning still is that Fatah, part and parcel of the same homicide-bombing factory as al-Aqsa, has yet to be placed on the list; thus, al-Aqsa can simply get around the presidential edict by doing business under its other name, Fatah.

The Saudi Committee and the TCC, however, don't need to operate under false pretenses or fake names. Despite compelling evidence of direct facilitation of terrorism, the State Department steadfastly refuses to recognize the Saudi Committee or the TCC as terrorists. You can't win a war without naming the enemy. **NR**



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■ AT WAR II ■

A Fence in the Sand

From the Israelis, a last, near-desperate measure

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

THE Israelis are building a fence between themselves and the Palestinians on the West Bank. It is a last and almost desperate measure in the war they are currently fighting against terror. Trying out the gamut of possible approaches, they have offered concessions, they have coaxed and cajoled; and alternatively they have sent in the tanks and threatened yet more extreme retaliation, for instance exiling Yasser Arafat and closing down the Palestinian Authority. Thanks to operational intelligence of a high order, they identify and capture something like four in every five potential suicide bombers before they set out. But the one who gets through is deadly. In the past 18 months, some 70 bombings have killed 547 Israelis, which in proportional terms is the equivalent of about 26,000 Americans, or over eight times the number of victims of September 11. Several thousand more have been maimed, blinded, and wounded. According to the Israeli Finance Ministry, the period has seen the loss of 75,000 jobs and output worth $5 billion. The Israelis may not be losing to terror but they are not winning either.

The fence is designed to run for 225 miles more or less along the old Green Line demarcating Israel from the West Bank. This is not an international border, but simply the line thrown up by the armistice after the first Arab–Israeli war in 1948. There will be watchtowers, trenches, patrol roads, electronic sensors, and the rest of it, gradually erected in the course of the coming twelve months in a local version of the Iron Curtain. Such a fence already surrounds the Gaza Strip, and it is effective. Israelis have been killed within Gaza, but to date no suicide bombers have managed to break out of that territory and attack Israel proper.

The West Bank is not a geographic entity so easily contained. The first stage of the fence is in the north, cutting off the town of Jenin, which affords close and quite camouflaged access over the hills towards Tel Aviv, Hadera, and Netanya, all cities that have been hard hit. No suicide bombers are known to have set off from Hebron in the southern part of the West Bank, and perhaps the fence need not extend to cover that. Even if interrupted in some areas, the fence might still serve to funnel would-be suicide bombers into paths where they could more predictably be intercepted.

Until the war of 1967, Jerusalem was divided by its imitation of the Berlin Wall, with a crossing-point at the Mandelbaum Gate, so called after the owner of what was then a crucially located house. But now about 200,000 Arab Jerusalemites have been incorporated into Israel, and the populations are too inextricable for the Mandelbaum Gate to be reinstated. Israeli spokesmen speak of some special six- or seven-mile section of reinforced concrete segments running within the city's limits, but this will necessarily incorporate Arabs on the Israeli side of the fence.

Critics of the whole concept of a fence are many, and vociferous. Disquietingly, the implication is that Jews are safe only among themselves, that, in other words, they are creating a modern ghetto. Some compare this project to the Maginot Line, so flawed strategically that any accompanying sense of protection is merely a delusion. The 200,000 Israeli settlers on the West Bank are afraid that the fence has every chance of becoming a permanent international border, and they will find themselves on the wrong side of it. Most of Ariel Sharon's Likud party, and in particular Uzi Landau, the minister in charge of internal security, are against the fence for ideological reasons. To them, such a division concedes the reality of Palestine and a two-state solution to the conflict between the two peoples. Some in the Labor party believe that the fence and a simultaneous dismantling of settlements might prove a successful campaigning issue in national elections due next year.

As for the Palestinians, Yasser Arafat has been quick to identify the new fence with "Nazism" and "apartheid." Always the opportunist, he no doubt foresees that the fence will indeed be an obstacle to terror, and therefore not in his interest. The majority of Palestinians seem in the grip of a nationalism that has swollen into psychosis, the kind of hysteria that more usually fires religious cults, immune to logic or such mundane factors as the balance of power. Confined in a small society, shielded from outside intellectual and moral considerations, they are listening only to inner calls for death and destruction. According to polls, just over two-thirds of Palestinians believe that suicide bombing will achieve the desired end of obtaining a state.

In reality, non-violence alone can achieve such a goal. This is the entire thrust of President Bush's recent speech: Palestinians can have statehood and independence but first they have to renounce terror. With fortunate timing, 55 Palestinian intellectuals, including Sari Nusseibeh and Hanan Ashrawi, have just published a joint appeal (with qualifications, to be sure) to stop the violence on the rational grounds that it is self-damaging. They represent a minority. So inflamed is the street that even this approach attracts charges of treason. It is a measure of this society's emotional disturbance that about 1,000 Palestinians have been killed by their own people, outside the law and often atrociously, as suspected collaborators.

The disposition of the Left everywhere is to excuse or even justify the suicide bombers. Mrs. Cherie Blair, wife of the British prime minister, spoke for many when she said recently, "As long as young people feel they have got no hope but to blow themselves up, you are never going to make progress." As long as public figures go to such lengths to find justification for homicidal suicide, the very idea of progress is wish-fulfillment. Hope is exactly what is activating suicide bombers, a messianic hope that they are about to kill large numbers of Israelis, and put an end to Israel itself. The fence should help to hold them off, but if this too fails, they may well bring outright war down on themselves in the next and final step. **NR**

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor whose books include *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, available in a new edition from Ivan R. Dee.

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■ CULTURE WATCH ■

The Anti-Big Mac Attack

Busybodies and trial lawyers set greedy eyes on food

JONAH GOLDBERG

THE dream scenario for the fat police can be found in the unduly unsung film *So I Married an Axe Murderer*, starring Mike Myers (of *Austin Powers* fame). Myers plays two characters at once, a Scottish conspiracy theorist and his son. The father explains, in a thick Scottish burr, that it is "a well-known fact . . . that there's a secret society of the five wealthiest people in the world, known as the Pentaveret, who run everything in the world, including the newspapers, and meet triannually at a secret country mansion in Colorado, known as The Meadows." Members of the Pentaveret, he reveals, include the Queen, the Vatican, the Gettys, the Rothschilds, and Colonel Sanders, the founder of Kentucky Fried Chicken, before he died. "Oh, I hated the Colonel," the father seethes, "with his wee beady eyes and that smug look on his face—'Oh, you're gonna buy my chicken!'"

"Dad, how can you hate . . . the Colonel?" the son asks.

"Because he puts an addictive chemical in his chicken that makes you crave it fortnightly . . . smart arse!"

If only the good people at the Center for Science in the Public Interest—the same people who told us that Chinese food and popcorn keep the liposuction industry going—could just nail down this addictive-KFC angle, their work would be so much easier. Unfortunately, for them, it has yet to be shown that Kentucky Fried Chicken—or Big Macs, or Whoppers, or Chalupas, or any other staple of the fast-food industry for that matter—contains any clinically addictive substances.

And, in the absence of any such evidence, it's going to be very difficult to claim that a 20-piece order of McNuggets is as bad as a carton of Camel unfiltereds. But that hasn't kept a broad array of sincere yet humorless public-health experts and insincere yet money-hungry trial lawyers from trying to go after fatty foods the way they went after cigarettes.

Kelly Brownwell, head of Yale's Center for Eating and Weight Disorders, famously declared several years ago: "To me, there is no difference between Ronald McDonald and Joe Camel." Now Marion Nestle (no kidding), the chairman of NYU's Department of Nutrition and Food Studies and the managing editor of the Surgeon General's 1988 Report on Nutrition and Health, writes in her book *Food Politics*: "Like cigarette companies, food companies co-opt food and nutrition experts by supporting professional organizations and research, and they expand sales by marketing directly to children, members of minority groups, and people in developing countries—whether or not the products are likely to improve people's diets."

The "targeting" of children and minority communities is a major rhetorical billy club for the food cops (though we might ask how blacks and other minorities feel about being likened to children in these warnings, in regard to their inability to constrain their gluttony). One wonders what might happen when news gets out that manufacturers of toys also directly target children. In fact, many toy companies *completely disregard* adult consumers and try to peddle their wares entirely to youngsters. Moreover, there are some rumors that Black Entertainment Television uses targeted messages to minorities. So, come to think of it, does the Democratic party.

Still, if it is difficult for some of us to take the war on fatty foods seriously, we must still try, because the other side is fat from victory (not literally, of course, because fatness is evil) in the war on Big Tobacco and trial lawyers must eat and the architects of health utopia can't just put away their T-squares and drawing boards. This fight is here whether we want to have it or not. Indeed, *The Nation* and other outlets have already

Mr. Goldberg is the editor of National Review Online (www.nationalreview.com).

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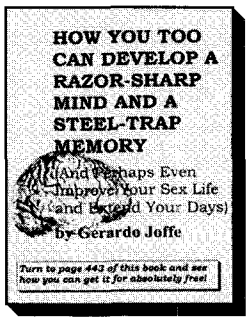
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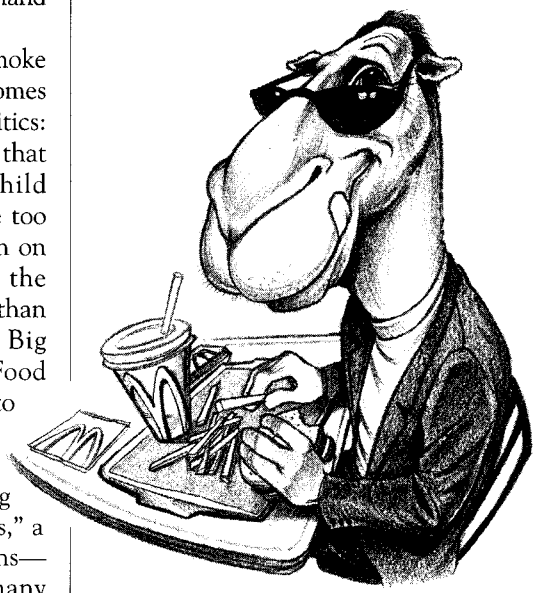
taken to using the phrase "Big Food" without irony. The *New York Times* warned last May that "the lines have sharpened in what may prove to be a culture war for the new century. The battlefield is the American diet, particularly that of the nation's teenagers." Along with Nestle's *Food Politics*, a raft of Meal Kampf books have come out declaring fatty food to be the next great battleground.

John Banzhaf, one of the most obnoxious of anti-smoking zealots and a professor at George Washington University Law School, predicts that obesity lawsuits will be the wave of the future. "Smoking in the '70s was seen as an individual problem," he told CNSNews.com. "All that changed when people saw the impact on non-smokers like second-hand smoke."

Alas, there is no second-hand smoke when it comes to Big Macs, so out comes the ace in the hole of American politics: "the children." It only makes sense that you cannot have a "leave no child behind" policy if some of them are too slow and fat, always plopping down on the side of the road to eat, like the German kid in *Willy Wonka*. "More than the much-reviled products of Big Tobacco, big helpings and Big Food constitute the number-one threat to America's children," warned *The Nation* recently. So this time around, "the children" are being trotted out to justify "Twinkie taxes," a spate of anti-super-size regulations—including advertising bans for many products—and proposed nutrition guides on restaurant menus (i.e., "Duck à l'orange: 7,012 calories, 79 grams of fat," or the more straightforward warning, "Don't enjoy dinner ever again").

There is a smorgasbord of possible responses to the anti-fat jihad. Let's begin by pointing out the problem that "fat" has recently been redefined in a rather tendentious way. Americans are, in fact, healthier than they've ever been before. One way we know this is that they are living longer. But, sad to say, people still have to die of something; it only makes sense that as we cure more diseases and make cars safer, we're going to die of things related to the kinds of yummy foods we can all afford to eat. In response to this tide of healthiness, we've decided to define obesity down: According to the new federal guidelines for obesity, we're *all* fat. The Center for Consumer Freedom, the restaurant industry's point-group in this battle, used the federal government's new guidelines for what constitutes a healthy weight and concluded that movie stars Russell Crowe and Tom Cruise qualify as somewhere between fat and obese; ditto Cal Ripken and Michael Jordan. By this standard, I'm heavy enough to bend light.

Now, none of this changes the fact that many Americans are probably too fat and that children make bad choices (of course, this is one of the main reasons we call them "children" in the first place). But they are choices. The chutzpah of liberals who've made sexual liberty perhaps the highest social value but who



By Ismael Roldan

condemn the freedom to eat a pizza is astounding. Irving Kristol's quip that "a liberal is one who says that it's all right for an 18-year-old girl to perform in a pornographic movie as long as she gets paid the minimum wage" might now be updated to "a liberal is one who says it's okay to have a super-kinky orgy, so long as everyone uses fat-free chocolate sauce."

In the January/February 2000 issue of *Public Health Reports*, Marion Nestle coauthored an article titled "Halting the Obesity Epidemic," in which she and the head of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, Michael Jacobson, attacked the past emphasis on "individual behavior change." "What is needed," they wrote, "is substantial involvement of and investment by government at all levels." Change the word "food" to "sex"—not altogether outlandish, considering AIDS—and you can just imagine the howls. Well, if we can't judge what two guys do with each other in the privacy of their bedroom, I'll be damned if you can judge what I do alone with a breakfast burrito.

Indeed, it would be much easier to take the fat cops seriously if they spoke out against the growing trend of treating the hefty as a new identity-politics group with special rights. Want to create an incentive to eat properly? Remove the IRS's "disability" status for obesity. Promote charging by weight for airlines—and by size for clothing.

Even if you believe the war on Big Tobacco was warranted and salutary for society, the analogy to the war on Big Food fails miserably in every important way. People don't need to smoke. They do need to eat (you could look it up). There's no comestible version of secondhand smoke and, rumors of the Pentaveret notwithstanding, there's no nicotine-like chemical that makes you crave fast food fortnightly. The trial-lawyer mantra that "cigarettes are the only legal product that, when used as directed, will kill you," cannot be amended to include pizza. Ultimately, the sole characteristic that applies to both fatty foods and cigarettes is that overindulgence in them creates "unnecessary burdens" for the health-care industry. And that's just not good enough.

"The socialist society," wrote the late Robert Nozick, "would have to forbid capitalist acts between consenting adults." Well, the "healthy society"—which is dismayingly similar to the socialist society, when you think about it—would forbid unhealthy acts between consenting adults, in this case between me and my short-order cook. It would also constrain free speech, free enterprise, and, perhaps most dismaying of all, the right to pursue happiness. Let's face it: Food is important to happiness. So when the food police say unrestricted marketing of food makes the health-care industry's work more difficult, the only defensible response is, "Well, then it will have to be more difficult." **NR**

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■ COVER STORY ■

On Tiptoe Through the Tulips

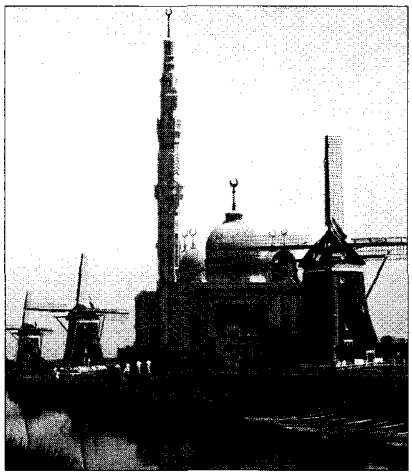
Why Holland is nervous—and an alarming case for the entire West

ROD DREHER

Amsterdam

DILDOS, tulips, and waffles, all on the same block: Welcome to the Netherlands, a country renowned for the bourgeoisification of vice.

I have just entered Amsterdam's red-light district in—honest!—an attempt to visit the Oude Kerk, the medieval "old church" that is the capital city's oldest stone building. Because the streets are so clean, orderly, and nonthreatening, you hardly realize you've entered the louche part of town, until you notice that the sickly-sweet aroma of burning hashish from the "coffeeshops" never really goes away. Then you notice display windows proffering a selection of bizarre devices and videos appealing to every imaginable vile affection (and even some unimaginable ones, about which PETA should be concerned). And, of course, there are the whores, many of them transvestites, standing in their windows, rapping on the glass to solicit attention and trade. The Oude Kerk sits in the middle of this cesspool, a faded jewel in a steaming dunghill.



Like many of the great old churches of Holland, this place is barely used for worship anymore—one hour on Sunday morning, for what's left of the Calvinist community—and is instead primarily a monument and exhibition hall. On this day, they were having an exhibition of prizewinning photos from the world press, which I didn't give a fig about, but for which I had to buy a ticket if I wanted to see the interior. As it turned out, several of the photos were potent images from the September 11 attack.

And these overwhelming images have everything to do with why I'm in this country. If not for the Islamist terrorist attacks, the fear and loathing many Dutch people have concerning the presence of Muslims in their country would not have been aired in Holland's politically correct public square, and certainly would not have found a voice in the late Pim Fortuyn. The rookie politician was assassinated by, police believe, a radical animal-rights activist days before the May 15 election; the aftermath of the killing helped return the center-right Christian Democrats to power, and made the List Pim Fortuyn, a brand-new political party, one of the country's largest.

The libertarian Fortuyn came to prominence in large part by persuading voters that the secular West was in the midst of a clash of civilizations with intolerant Islam. Fortuyn said that Holland's civil order is under assault by sharply rising levels of street crime, much of which is attributable to young men from Islamic countries; worse, Muslim immigrants, over the long term, pose a potential fifth-column threat to tolerant democracy as long as they refuse to assimilate and accept Dutch values. Multiculturalist dogma and political correctness, he argued, prevent the West from accurately gauging the threat posed by Islam, and discussing ways to counter it. "A liberal is a man too broadminded to take his own side in a quarrel," said Robert Frost—a succinct phrasing of Fortuyn's indictment of the Dutch establishment.

Fortuyn was not the first contemporary European politician to draw attention to the immigration question, but he was the first to frame it explicitly as a matter of the bankruptcy of multiculturalism—which, he contended, was meeting its Waterloo in the crime-ridden Islamic ghettos of Dutch cities. It's apt that this problem emerged so pointedly in the Netherlands, because this country is perhaps the world's most postmodern nation, the place where liberalism has penetrated most deeply. It's an egalitarian social democracy, sexually emancipated, thoroughly irreligious, and largely devoid of nationalist consciousness. Holland prides itself on tolerance *über alles*—except, of course, toward conservatives. Until now, the Islamic sort of conservative has drawn a pass, owing to his origins in the Third World, before which good European liberals cannot sufficiently abase themselves.

The plunging birthrate of native-born Europeans, and thus their need to import foreign workers (mostly Muslims), raises some doubt as to whether democratic Europe can survive in its present form. Fortuyn understood this, and wanted to save the Netherlands—but what exactly did he want to save it for? An open homosexual who bragged about his promiscuity, Fortuyn championed Holland's anything-goes society as a morally desirable end. For him, the glorious fruit of Dutch liberty was not the civilization the Oude Kerk stands for, but the institutions on the church's ramparts: Sexyland ("Live F**k Show"), the High Time Coffeeshop, and the ladies in the windows. He did not grasp that the licentious individualism he praised was seriously weakening the bonds of the society he wanted to preserve.

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And such bonds still exist. The Dutch are, by and large, a middle-class nation of friendly, modest people beavering through ordinary lives in quiet towns and suburbs. But they are the canary in the West's cultural coal mine—an advance warning system of what's to come for the rest of us.

DOWN FROM THE GOLDEN AGE

"The things you Americans are facing today, Holland faced ten or fifteen years ago," says Rob Hondsmerk, a child psychologist who directs Focus on the Family–Netherlands. "I see America going down the same path, and if things keep going at the present rate, it's not going to take you fifteen years to get there."

Though predominantly Calvinist in culture since the Reformation, Holland has, since the "Golden Age" of the Dutch Republic in the 17th and 18th centuries, enjoyed a reputation for tolerance, perhaps due less to virtue than to the mercantilist pragmatism for which the Dutch are well known. This intellectual and religious freedom helped produce not only immense wealth, making the Netherlands the center of European commerce for just over a century, but also the work of such Western cultural icons as Spinoza, Vermeer, and Rembrandt.

Modern Dutch political history began in 1897, with the "pillarization" of the country's politics. Each of three main groups—Catholics, Protestants, and socialists—organized itself around its own "pillar," and rarely operated outside this virtual ghetto; elites of all pillars worked together to prevent sectarian strife. This politics of consensus kept the country together, but it required avoiding open conflict over ideas. Joshua Livestro, 35, a political speechwriter and conservative activist, says pillarization effectively destroyed any hope of building a conservative political party because those who held right-of-center views were dispersed among the various confessional parties, diluting their strength.

And their divisions left them completely unprepared for the 1960s. It has been remarked that no society on earth was more thoroughly transformed by the Sixties than Holland's. James Kennedy, a history professor at Hope College in Michigan, wrote his doctoral dissertation on how the Netherlands went from being one of the most religious, socially conservative countries in Western Europe to being a bourgeois Babylon in a few short years. Postwar Dutch society lost faith in the old system, which the counterculture showed to have been made of straw.

"A number of Dutch religious and secular leaders concluded there wasn't a lot to be done to resist," explains Kennedy. "One thing the Dutch political culture does well, maybe too well, is to accommodate itself to new moods in society. What you don't do is try to create a 'silent majority' to resist new trends, because in this view, trends can't be bucked."

The Left captured the culture without firing a shot. The welfare state burgeoned, and cultural leftists took over influential opinion-leading posts in academia and the media. They have so thoroughly dominated the national conversation for an entire generation that there are barely any conservatives left. Unlike America, where the Right emerged from the 1964 Goldwater defeat with the resources, institutions, and intellectual firepower to sustain a long-term resistance against the Left, Holland had no counter-force.

"This is a very small country," says Andreas Kinneging, 40, a legal philosopher who is the intellectual godfather of Holland's nascent conservative movement. The Dutch "have a few national papers, a few channels, a handful of universities, a few publishers. Most of the elites know each other. They're all liberal, and all think the same. They consider themselves moral, upright, good people. Their power is tremendous . . . You have to be very independent-minded or very cosmopolitan not to be indoctrinated by this worldview."

Despite having turned itself into perhaps the most socialistic, morally permissive democracy in the world, Holland has worked, more or less, because of the residual Calvinism in its national character. The typical Dutchman is hard-working, sober, honest, and self-disciplined; he is generally satisfied with the welfare state, because he finds it not only morally just, but a good return on his investment. Society functioned relatively smoothly over the past few decades, so few Dutch found reason to complain.

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Almost half the population of Rotterdam, where Pim Fortuyn launched his political career, is of foreign descent.

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But their comfortable arrangement is cracking, with the new arrivals bringing fault lines in the system to the surface. Says Livestro: "Immigration magnifies the problems left by the erosion of religion and family, and the usurpation by the state of all the functions of society. Striving to improve your lot is ingrained in Western culture, materially and spiritually. All of that has been made suspect by [the Dutch establishment]. We've gotten to a point where ordinary people feel that the political class is removed from their concerns."

What increasingly bothers the Dutch are freeloaders. Though the unemployment rate is just over 2 percent, 18 percent of the Dutch labor force is on the dole to some degree, with 11 percent receiving occupational-disability benefits under the widely abused system. Immigrants, who have a high unemployment rate, are another irritant. Eight percent of Holland's 16 million people are of foreign descent, with more than half of them Muslims, mostly from Turkey and Morocco. Holland's four largest cities—Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht—are home to the majority of immigrants. Almost half the population of Rotterdam, where Fortuyn launched his political career, is of foreign descent.

THE STORE WILL BE CLOSING

This has had unfortunate consequences. Earlier this month, the trade association representing Holland's supermarkets announced that it would be shutting down stores in the immigrant-heavy inner cities unless the government got serious about policing the areas. That's because young immigrant men from these neighborhoods are disproportionately

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represented in Dutch crime statistics. According to criminologist Chris Rutenfrans, a study in 2000 found that 33 percent of all criminal suspects are foreign-born, as are 55 percent of prison inmates. An astonishing 63 percent of those convicted of homicide are immigrants—Moroccans, Antilleans, and sub-Saharan Africans are the chief culprits. "The reason always given to explain these statistics is that they live in deprived circumstances," says Rutenfrans. "But other minorities are similarly deprived, and they aren't criminals."

Some Muslims bring with them a culture of religious extremism, encouraged in part by religious schools—at least one-third of which are funded by the Saudis, according to a government report. The report also revealed that 20 percent of Holland's Islamic schools receive funding from the radical Islamic organization Al-Waqf al-Islami, or have radical Muslims on their boards. The government warned that the country's Islamic schools showed very little commitment to preparing their students for integration into Dutch society.

More troubling, the government intelligence service warned as long as a decade ago that the Netherlands was becoming a center of Islamic terrorist recruitment and operations. Since September 11, terrorism experts have warned that violent Islamic extremists are conducting operations in Holland, in part because the country's deeply ingrained taboo against intolerance gives them relative freedom from scrutiny.

Worries about terrorism and crime manifest themselves as anxiety over immigration, yet Dutch voters also see the rising crime rate as part of a broader decline of civil society. It's common these days to hear the Dutch complaining that beneath the egalitarian surface, theirs has become an individualist culture, in which everyone thinks only of his rights, but not his obligations to the larger community. "People are fed up with the abuse of the welfare state, but they have yet to realize the problem is the welfare state itself," says Bart Jan Spruyt, political editor for *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, a Protestant-affiliated daily.

"The Dutch worry about what's happening to civil society, but they don't understand that the state cannot make you moral," says Livestro. "They fail to see that civil society starts with personal morality, and with the family." The social problems are connected to the decline of religion and the consequent loss of faith in traditional Judeo-Christian morality. Some 30 years ago, 60 percent of the population were at church on Sunday morning; today, it's between 8 and 13 percent. The media have relentlessly mocked religion.

To be a believing Christian in today's Holland, therefore, requires a countercultural courage that's hard for most Americans to imagine. But these people exist. I stumbled across a small congregation of Iranian Pentecostals, all converts from Islam, in a distant suburb of Amsterdam. The pastor, who asked not to be identified because of past violent threats from area Muslims, told me that he was shocked by the naïveté the Dutch have about radical Islam. He thought Fortuyn was "a bit extremist," and didn't count himself a supporter—but he agreed with much of what Fortuyn said, and was glad somebody finally said it.

In this, the Iranian pastor was like most Dutch voters with whom I spoke, telling me that Fortuyn wasn't their cup of tea, politically, but he was invaluable as a catalyst for a long-overdue discussion of Islam and the limits of multiculturalism. Kinneging says Fortuyn struck a chord with voters sick of being taken for granted: "In the wake of the transformation of our big cities [by immigration] has come a lot of guns, violence, drugs, trading in women, and dirty streets. The political, intellectual, and journalistic elite who are in favor of this immigration do not live in these urban neighborhoods."

Fortuyn's criticism of Islam was risky. Holland has a clause in its constitution criminalizing "discrimination," which has been interpreted by the country's highest court to include speech deemed too critical of women and minorities. The threat of legal censure as well as denunciation in the court of public opinion has a serious chilling effect on politically incorrect speech.

Nor was this the only factor reducing conservative support for Fortuyn. Despite sharing some of his common-sense views on immigration, reducing the bureaucracy, and law and order, many serious Dutch conservatives remained skeptical

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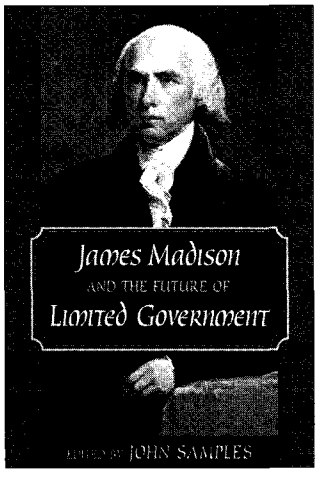

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Edited by John Samples

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of Fortuyn: As correct as he was on diagnosing the threat from Islamofascism and multiculturalism, they believed, any solution that does not address the breakdown of the family and the moral order can only be a stopgap measure, a finger in a crumbling dike.

"He was a liberal in every respect," says Kinneging. "What he wanted was a country where his type of liberal hedonism could be kept up. For him, Islam was a danger because the ethics of Islam are contrary to today's Western hedonism. In a sense, he was part of the problem, not the solution."

Even so, conservatives acknowledge a great debt to him for standing up for free speech, thereby providing what may be the first opening they've had in a generation. As the present and future continent-wide struggles over Islam and immigration exacerbate the problems inherent in the permissive welfare-state society, Dutch conservatives anticipate that the public will become more open to their ideas. Livestro, Spruyt, Kinneging, and other conservatives have organized a small think tank called the Edmund Burke Foundation (www.burkestichting.nl): They want it to serve as a launching pad for getting conservative critiques and policy ideas into the still-inhospitable Dutch public square.

"This is missionary territory," says Kinneging. "It will be difficult for us, and we are a small group of people, but Russell Kirk started all by himself."

While Kinneging tends to be pessimistic about the prospects for a conservative revival in his country, Livestro, the foundation's director, is possessed by a Reaganite faith in the good sense of his countrymen. This comes out when I repeat to him observations from the ordinary Dutch citizens I interviewed. One complained about the loss of respect for authority—the result, in his view, of egalitarianism gone too far. Another said that though he isn't a Christian, he has a newfound respect for the achievements of Christian culture, and believes the Dutch ought to listen more to Christian teaching on virtue and order.

"They're probably not alone," says Livestro. "One of our challenges is to figure out how to reach people like that. It is part of human nature to aspire beyond yourself. There's a universal moral grammar written in the human heart. If you can speak to people in that brief moment, and speak to those words written on their hearts, people can change sometimes."

They had better. Like dissolute descendants of old money, the Dutch have been living for two generations now on the moral and spiritual capital built from centuries of religious faith and practice, however imperfect. The accounts are nearly depleted. "The Dutch believe that if it's possible, then you mustn't forbid it, you must tolerate it," says Focus on the Family's Hondsmerk. "We've had that for a generation now. That works as long as people have a natural self-control, but that is fast fading."

"What we are witnessing now is the very first generation who grew up without a religious background," says Kinneging. "What has happened until now is that most people without a religious background have become consumerists, materialists, and hedonists. They are still law-abiding citizens. We'll have to see what the next generation will become." **NR**

Rude Awakenings

Some effects of the Middle East wars on U.S. campuses

JAY NORDLINGER

WHEN the Arab–Israeli conflict flared again, the reaction on campus was dramatic. It could have been expected to be anti-Israel, and severely so; but it was even more anti-Israel than usual. It was more anti-Semitic, too. (Sadly, these two "anti-"s seem to be going together more and more lately.) Also unusual, however, was the response of pro-Israel students and faculty, chiefly Jews: They were more determined, less cringing, more defiant than in the past. More willing to talk back, and to fight back. A writer in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* sensed that an "awakening" was going on, and that a period of "passive vulnerability" was expiring. This sense is widely shared. Moreover, Jews on campus are reconsidering their politics and alliances. The word "realignment" is being spoken a lot. Many students and teachers are undergoing "second thoughts," to use the phrase of Peter Collier and David Horowitz, who took a sharp turn from '60s radicalism. "After 9/11, everything changed," people say. Some things actually may be.

The press has been full of anti-Israel and anti-Semitic acts from campus lately, of which some of the "highlights" are these: bricks through windows of Hillel centers (Hillel being the international college Jewish organization); swastikas painted on Hillel walls and doors; the word "Zionazi" coined and sprayed; anti-Jewish libels, ancient and modern, spread through student newspapers and websites; jeering anti-Israel demonstrations on, of all days, Holocaust Remembrance Day; retrospective praise for the Nazis. (As in the Middle East itself, enemies of Israel on campus have trouble deciding whether the Israelis are Nazis, or the Nazis are to be hailed.) The worst case occurred at San Francisco State University, where a group of Jewish students, who had participated in a peace rally, had to be escorted to safety by police, from a howling, hate-spewing mob. (Sample screams: "Get out or we will kill you!" and "Hitler didn't finish the job!")

Even where events are less appalling, Jewish students and faculty feel that they are under siege, forced to explain or defend "their" state, or even their status as Jews. The Left's last great campus cause was the anti-apartheid one; it was the last time, whatever their methods or proposed solutions, they had anything like the moral high ground. They are seeking it again, through anti-Israeli activism and rhetoric, including a strong linkage to apartheid. That Israel, like the old Boer Republic, is an "apartheid state" is almost an article of faith on many campuses today. Pro-Arab, anti-Israeli groups are joined by sundry more traditional leftist groups—environmentalists, "racial justice" advocates, anti-globalizers—which stuns and chagrins many Jews, previously comfortable in their liberalism. Michael Granoff, a "lay leader" of the Hillel Foundation,

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voices a common sentiment when he says, "The reaction of the human-rights community has been disappointing to many of us who consider ourselves left of center, but who see this conflict in a different way." The U.N.'s Durban conference, he says—an affair that proved grossly anti-Semitic—was a "rude awakening," a "very sobering experience." And only days later came the September 11 attacks, coupled, in short order, with a renewing of the Israel question.

'DIVESTMENT,' AGAIN

Harvard, as usual, has been the focus of particular attention. Of the many striking events that have occurred there recently, the most notable was the circulation of a "divestment" petition, calling on the university to withdraw its investments from Israel and "U.S. companies that sell arms to Israel." (The petition was a joint effort with neighboring MIT.) In this way, the linkage of the anti-apartheid cause to the anti-Israel cause was explicit and profound. Of all the states in the world, only Israel was so abhorrent as to warrant a complete "divestment." Over 120 faculty members at the two universities signed the petition. This shook Jews and others on those campuses, and a counter-petition was circulated, opposing and denouncing the first petition. Almost 600 faculty signed that one, in an impressive act of "talking back."

Ruth Wisse is the noted scholar of Yiddish and political essayist; she is a prominent conservative at Harvard. Prof. Wisse says that recent events have "changed the atmosphere for every thinking person on campus." Current tensions pit professor against professor, student against student (even roommate against roommate), and professor against student (an especially fragile situation for a student). "Malice toward Israel and those who support it," says Prof. Wisse, "is now acceptable among people who might have felt the same way before but took pains not to make it visible." Jewish students are being, not merely challenged, but "assaulted" on the question of Israel, in class and elsewhere. And "they've never really encountered this before. Israel has not been popular with the Left, with the in-crowd, for many years, but this hostility is really of a different magnitude." Prof. Wisse has had "a run of students come to see me—ones I don't even know. They are rattled. Seriously rattled."

And yet these students, too, are talking back and fighting back, expressing support for Israel—and for American policy—in various ways. They have participated in rallies, written for journals, and, in one case, even started one. (Harvard senior-to-be Rachel Zabarkes founded the *Harvard Israel Review*. She is presently a summer intern at NATIONAL REVIEW.) Traditionally liberal Jewish students are enjoying the company of some perhaps-surprising allies. The Harvard Republican Club held its annual dinner at the school's Hillel chapter, pointing toward "a new coalition of students who are concerned for Israel's security and America's alike," as Prof. Wisse puts it. Hillel has not historically been the scene of a great many Republican dinners.

Over at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, something similar is taking place. This campus has long been a hotbed of anti-Israel feeling. Toward the end of the last term—to cite only one "highlight"—a conference called "Perspectives on the Muslim World: Unveiling the Truth" was staged. It was sponsored by a number of university entities, including the Department of Near Eastern Studies, the Department of Sociology, the Arab Students Association, the Black Student Union, and the Office of Multi-Ethnic Student Affairs—the gang was all there. A book was sold at the conference, and only one book: *The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics*, featuring a chapter entitled "The Myth of the Holocaust." About this tract, no more need be said. Under pressure, the organizers issued an apology.

As at Harvard and elsewhere, pro-Israel students in Ann Arbor are piping up; and as at Harvard and elsewhere, they are doing so with untraditional allies. David Livshiz, a student associated with Hillel, says, "Hillel is a progressive organization, and most people would declare themselves Democrats or liberals. But when we organized a demonstration to support Israel, we got tremendous support from the College Republicans and YAF [Young Americans for Freedom]. Some said, initially, 'We don't want to work with right-wing groups on campus,' but those students have changed their minds. We will work with anyone who stands with us on Israel, and in the fight against terrorism, in the fight for America. Some of the strict liberals seem to think America deserved to get bombed on 9/11. But we see that this fight is about democracy and freedom everywhere."

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At Harvard and elsewhere, pro-Israel students are piping up, and they are doing so with untraditional allies.

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Again, it was San Francisco State that provided the ugliest news. The mob attack that occurred there on May 7 has had reverberations around the world. Laurie Zoloth, who directs the Jewish Studies program at SFSU, wrote an eloquent, gripping account of the attack, which she sent to her colleagues on the faculty. This report made its way, by e-mail, literally around the globe, prompting a huge response.

The San Francisco case is instructive in many ways. As Prof. Zoloth points out—not at all disapprovingly—SFSU's is "an extraordinarily left-wing campus." On the day in question, Jewish students were holding their peace rally on—what else?—Malcolm X Plaza (and outside the Cesar Chavez Student Union). This was hardly a right-wing or Likudnik or even Republican gathering. Students sang peace songs, bore both Israeli and Palestinian flags, and wore T-shirts reading "PEACE" in Arabic, Hebrew, and English. And, for their trouble, they came within an inch of bodily harm. All they suffered was spit, death threats, and shock.

Some administrators and faculty expressed a right concern, others did not. One department chairman remarked that the mere fact of a peace rally held by Jews was "provocative"—"like Sharon going to the Temple Mount." Another attitude, says Prof. Zoloth, was that "boys will be boys," and that passions must have been running high on "both sides." It was even claimed that the Arab counter-demonstrators were provoked by the presence of police barricades, placed between the Jewish

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students and their attackers, for "it is culturally inappropriate to put barricades in front of Palestinians." Prof. Zoloth cannot help wondering whether people would believe that the incident had even taken place, if not for the instant testimony of eyewitnesses (chiefly herself), the ensuing journalistic interest—and the fortunate evidence of police videos.

Not surprisingly, she is undergoing "second thoughts." She is thinking about leaving the campus, because how can one work, in Jewish Studies, in such a climate, and how can one recruit? "Come to SFSU, where you'll feel right at home!" Jewish students have found it prudent to tuck Stars of David under their shirts. Laurie Zoloth reflects the anguish that many in her position are experiencing around the country:

"There has been widespread discussion among Jews on the left, with a strong history on the left. I myself ask, 'How does a movement that I care about—a progressive movement—make such a dramatic misassessment? How could it possibly legitimize Yasser Arafat? How could it have gone wrong?' Lay that against what should be done in this war, or the general question of love of country, and, yes: It gives one pause. I am very devoted to the Democratic party, and here I am, talking to a very conservative, Republican magazine [i.e., NATIONAL REVIEW]. And yet it is very important to hear the truth from whatever quarter it emerges. This is a time for thinking about issues in a different way. September 11 raises questions, the politics of the Middle East raise questions . . . and all of this tends toward realignment."

A 'GUERRILLA THEATER' OF ONE'S OWN

In the meantime, Jewish students and other well-wishers of Israel have had to adjust, fast. The Hillel Foundation has formed a new Israel-affairs department, which plans to provide "rapid responses." It is also taking kids from around the country to Israel, to give them a better understanding of what is occurring in that region. In the U.S., an Israeli group called Upstart Activist is distributing kits and conducting seminars, advising students on how to combat anti-Israel stunts, campaigns, and "guerrilla theater" on campus. (The group's motto is from Ecclesiastes: "A time to keep silence, a time to speak.") These Upstart Activists would match the opposition stunt for stunt. For example, anti-Israeli activists like to set up "checkpoints" on their campuses, in imitation of the Israeli checkpoints. (Yet no one is attempting to pass through wearing an explosives belt, presumably.) The Israeli group calls for similar "creativity" and, naturally, "chutzpah," in the form of "chalk outlines," "mock funerals for terror victims," and the like.

Of course, not every Jewish student or teacher wants to be a pro-Israel activist, or even to be involved in this drama. Far from it. By any reasonable assessment, most Jewish students would like to remain typical American collegians, going to class (or not), drinking beer, and cheering for the football team. But these students are liable to be sucked into the drama, in times so fraught. As Hillel's Michael Granoff says, "Only a minority of Jewish students are activists in any sense. Most are really bewildered by anti-Israel or anti-Semitic statements or actions. And they don't have the tools to respond. They may have a gut instinct to defend Israel, but they can't articulate what they feel." Harvard's Prof. Wisse notes that "a lot of these kids are unfairly put on the defensive, lacking the facts to fight back. And yet this generation, like others, in clutch time, will not be allowed to sit on the fence."

When they tip from that fence, it may well be in a rightward direction. Stories of such movement abound, including one from Rabbi Elazar Meisels, a Torah instructor in Michigan. In one of his classes, he says, "the talk got around to anti-Israel media bias, and the most vocal of this bunch—a real liberal—just kept going on the topic." Rabbi Meisels recommended that he take a look at NATIONAL REVIEW and its website. "And this fellow looks at me incredulously and says, 'That's Bill Buckley! I can't do that!' And I said, 'Why not? They're saying what you're saying, but with more facts and better English.'" The gentleman soon became hooked. Rabbi Meisels admits to enjoying the "discomfiture of liberals" on display before him. "They have such a difficult time trying to justify their past beliefs and trying to maintain them. I've been watching this progression. I've got a group of guys I teach every week. They've been complete liberals, never hearing other arguments, blaming Israel for everything, blaming the settlements—and they're shifting. Conservative ideas and policies are getting a respectful hearing. It's so much easier [for a conservative] to talk to people now."

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Some caught in the maelstrom are beginning to sound an awful lot like conservatives, a fact which may unnerve them.

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Michael Granoff hints at something similar, contending that the recent ordeal "hasn't made Jewish students more conservative," but "has made them more open-minded, more willing to question the credentials of some of the people they previously held in high esteem."

Some caught in the maelstrom are beginning to sound an awful lot like conservatives, a fact which may unnerve them. SFSU's Laurie Zoloth, in her famous letter, says that, as the mob cornered the Jews, she herself was not afraid. She was "really more sad that I could not protect my students. Not one administrator came to stand with us. I knew that if a crowd of Palestinian or Black students had been there, surrounded by a crowd of white racists screaming racist threats, shielded by police, the faculty and staff would have no trouble deciding which side to stand on." Any conservative will easily recognize that kind of speech. In Israel itself, lefties are having to scrape "Peace Now" bumper stickers off their cars, lest they look absurd. Recantations are heard and seen. Shlomo Avineri, a professor at Hebrew University and an erstwhile member of the "peace camp," wrote in *Ha'aretz* last fall, "Whoever expected Yasser Arafat to turn into Nelson Mandela was proved wrong, but admitting it is hard. Incredibly hard. . . . It was hard for those seduced by the charms of the Soviet Union to see that it was a ruthless, oppressive country, but that was the truth. . . . [For a peaceful settlement] there is no partner on the other side. It hurts, but that is the truth."

This new worldwide war, and the trauma of the Middle East, are having deep effects. We seem to be in another terrible time for choosing. **NR**

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Our 'Next Manifest Destiny'

America should move to control space—now, and decisively

JOHN J. MILLER

On the morning of September 13, 1985, Air Force Major Doug Pearson smashed through the sound barrier in his F-15. Pointed almost directly upward more than seven miles above the Pacific Ocean, he tapped a little red button on the side of his control stick, and released a missile strapped to the belly of his plane. The missile blazed out of sight, leaving the earth's atmosphere quickly and reaching a speed of 13,000 miles per second. Pearson wondered if it would hit anything.

The mission was classified, so Pearson had developed a code with the folks back at Edwards Air Force Base: The radioman would tell him to level off at a certain altitude if his missile struck its target, an obsolete scientific probe orbiting 345 miles over Hawaii. As it happened, the code wasn't necessary. When Pearson checked in a few minutes after firing, he could hear cheering in the background from the control room.

It was the one time an American pilot had ever destroyed an object in outer space. People still talk about Pearson as the country's first "space ace." He remains its only space ace. A few weeks after the satellite was destroyed, Congress banned further tests. "We had hoped to conduct more," recalls Pearson, now a general. "But politics were what they were, and the nation decided to go another way."

Space is the next great frontier of military innovation, but for 17 years the nation has gone another way. It has squandered a remarkable opportunity that may not be available much longer. Rather than move rapidly to build on the success of Pearson and many others involved in the military use of space, the United States has refused to develop technologies that will be essential to national security in the 21st century, from anti-satellite (ASAT) missiles like Pearson's to space-based lasers that can destroy ICBMs right after they've left their launch pads.

Democrats ridiculed Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative as "Star Wars," and not much has changed: Rep. Dennis Kucinich, Democrat of Ohio, recently introduced the Space Preservation Act of 2002, which would ban weapons from space "for the benefit of all humankind." The language of his bill is so broad that it would effectively reinstate the now-defunct Anti–Ballistic Missile Treaty. It would also block construction of the limited missile-defense system now underway at Fort Greely in Alaska, as well as a sea-based system whose development the Pentagon says it may now accelerate.

That's because ABMs that intercept their targets above the atmosphere—all of them, basically—may reasonably be deemed weapons in space. (ICBMs are weapons in space, too, but they don't engage anything until their warheads dive back into the earth.) With the ABM Treaty at last finding its deserved place on the ash heap of history, however, we now have an unprecedented occasion to rethink U.S. military strategy in space. What the country needs is an aggressive commitment to achieving space control—a kind of Monroe Doctrine for the heavens, opening them to the peaceful purposes of commerce and science but closing them to anything that threatens American national security. The United States today is the undisputed leader in space technology, but the gap between our capabilities and those of potential adversaries won't remain so wide forever. The time for bold action is now.

OLD HAT, NEW HAT

The military space age arguably began during the Second World War, when 1,400 German V-2 rockets rained down on England. The V-2s did not do an enormous amount of physical damage, but they did terrify the public and highlight the revolutionary potential of space weapons. "The significance of this demonstration of German skill and ingenuity lies in the fact that it makes complete nonsense out of strategic frontiers, mountains, and river barriers," said CBS newsman Edward R. Murrow from London.

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The U.S. today is the undisputed leader in space technology, but the gap between us and our adversaries won't remain so wide forever.

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The Pentagon began to exploit the vast emptiness of space soon after. Military satellites have been in orbit for more than 40 years. In this sense, the militarization of space is old hat. Today, in fact, the armed services rely on space so much that they simply couldn't function as they currently do without access to it. Satellites facilitate communications, monitor enemy activity, and detect missile launches. Their surveillance capabilities are astounding: The KH-11 supposedly can spot objects six inches in size from hundreds of miles up. These functions were critical to the success of American campaigns against Iraq and Serbia in the 1990s, and they are essential to operations in Afghanistan.

Even seemingly mundane uses of space have military value. The Global Positioning System is well known to civilian navigators, but it was designed for military navigational purposes, such as helping cruise missiles locate their targets and special-ops units find their rally points. On June 6, 1944, General Eisenhower surely would have appreciated a weather forecast of the type we now routinely get from satellites via local TV and radio broadcasts. On September 11, 2001, it was the space-enabled transmission of cell-phone signals and instant news that helped Todd Beamer and the other passengers of United Flight 93 prevent an already catastrophic day from turning even worse.

These are all examples of "force enhancement," to use Pentagon parlance. By generating and channeling information, space-based assets help earthbound soldiers, sailors, and pilots improve their performance. Yet the United States will also need tools of "force application"—weapons that act against adver-

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saries directly in and from space, for both offensive and defensive purposes. What our country requires, in short, is the weaponization of outer space.

This already would have occurred in at least limited form, but for the mulish opposition of arms-control liberals. Reagan's SDI routinely struggled for funding in the 1980s and early 1990s, and then went on life support during the Clinton administration. The budget for ground-based ABMs was slashed by nearly 80 percent in Clinton's first year—defense contractors even had their system-development bids returned to them unopened. The Brilliant Pebbles program, an outgrowth of SDI that would have placed a swarm of maneuverable interceptors in orbit, was eliminated completely. "These actions effectively destroyed the nation's space-based missile-defense options for the following decade," says Henry Cooper, who ran the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization at the Pentagon during the first Bush administration.

The budgets of other programs, such as the ASAT technology tested by Pearson in 1985, were essentially trimmed to death. In 1990, Democrats in Congress forbade ASAT laser testing (the Republican majority let the ban lapse in 1995). The Army worked on ground-based ASAT missiles through the 1990s, and by 1997 its tests were starting to show real promise. The next year, however, Clinton had a test of his own to run—the line-item veto, since ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court—and he used it against the Army program. "We could have had something online," says Steven Lambakis of the National Institute for Public Policy. "Now we'd be forced to cobble together an emergency response if we really needed to knock out a satellite."

The United States soon will have at least a residual ASAT capability—any national missile-defense system that can shoot down ICBMs also can obliterate satellites. What we don't have, however, is a growing architecture of space-based weapons along the lines of what Reagan began to describe in his visionary SDI speech in 1983. This May, Senate Democrats passed big cuts to ground-based missile defense, which is humdrum compared with space-based lasers and the like—and the White House has not yet beaten back even this challenge.

UP IN THE BLUE

The wrangling over weapons and budgets stems from a fundamental confusion over what space is and how we should use it. From the standpoint of physics, space begins about 60 miles above sea level, which is roughly the minimum height a satellite must attain to achieve orbit. In this sense, space is just another medium, much like land, water, and air, with its own special rules of operation. For military purposes, however, space is more: It's the ultimate high ground, a flank from above whose importance, for those able to gain access to it, may represent the critical difference in future conflicts.

For arms-control fanatics, however, space is a kind of sanctuary, and putting weapons in it poses an unconscionable threat. U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan has called for ensuring "that outer space remains weapons-free." Theresa Hitchens of the Center for Defense Information warns of threats to "global stability" and "the potential for starting a damaging and destabilizing space race." With space, there's always the sense that weapons violate some pristine nature. This is clearly one of the sentiments behind the Kucinich bill. Yet it is exactly wrong—there should be weapons way up there because then there will be fewer of them right down here.

Space power is now in its infancy, just as air power was when the First World War erupted in 1914. Back then, military planes initially were used to observe enemy positions. There was an informal camaraderie among pilots; Germans and French would even wave when they flew by each other. Yet it wasn't long before the reality of war took hold and they began shooting. The skies were not to be a safe haven.

The lesson for space is that some country inevitably will move to seize control of it, no matter how much money the United States sinks into feel-good projects like the International Space Station. Americans have been caught napping before, as when the Soviet Union shocked the world with Sputnik in 1957. In truth, the United States could have beaten the Soviets to space but for a deliberate slow-down strategy that was meant to foster sunny relations with the world's other superpower.

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Space is the ultimate high ground, a flank from above whose importance may represent the critical difference in future conflicts.

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The United States is the world's frontrunner in space, with about 110 military satellites in operation, compared with about 40 for Russia and 20 for the rest of the world. Yet a leadership role in space is not the same as dominance, and the United States today lacks the ability to defend its assets against rudimentary ASAT technology or to deny other countries their own weapons in space. No country appears to be particularly close to putting weapons in orbit, though the Chinese are expected to launch their first astronaut in the next year or two and they're working hard to upgrade their military space capabilities. "It would be a mistake to underestimate the rapidity with which other states are beginning to use space-based systems to enhance their security," says the just-released annual report of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. At a U.N. disarmament conference two years ago, Chinese officials called for a treaty to keep weapons out of space—a possible sign that what they really want is some time to play catch-up.

The private sector also requires a secure space environment. When the Galaxy IV satellite failed in 1998, paging services shut down, affecting an estimated 44 million customers. Banks and credit-card companies also were affected, along with a few television and radio stations. Saddam Hussein may lack the rocket power to lob a nuclear warhead halfway around the world, but he could mount one on top of a Scud and fire it straight upward. A nuclear explosion in low orbit could disable scores of satellites and wreak havoc on modern economies everywhere—an example of space-age terrorism.

Plenty of people inside the government already recognize how much the United States relies on space. There's a U.S. Space Command headquartered in Colorado Springs, and

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each branch of the military is to some extent involved in space power. In 1999, secretary of defense William Cohen called space power "as important to the nation as land, sea, and air power." His successor, Donald Rumsfeld, chaired a commission on space and national security right before joining the Bush administration. The panel's report, issued last year, warned of a "Space Pearl Harbor" if the country doesn't develop "new military capabilities."

While Cohen's rhetoric was fine, his boss, Bill Clinton, didn't seem to agree with it. Rumsfeld is friendly to the notion of space power, but President Bush so far hasn't talked much about it. When Bush gave his missile-defense speech at the National Defense University a year ago, he spoke of land-, sea-, and air-based defenses—but made no mention of space. "A lot of us noticed that," says one Air Force officer.

The Rumsfeld commission also emphasized defense: how to protect American satellites from foreign enemies. It had almost nothing to say about offense: how to use space for projecting American power around the globe. The commission was a creature of consensus, so this does not necessarily represent Rumsfeld's own thinking. And defense certainly is important. Military satellites are tempting targets because they're so crucial to the United States in so many ways. They are protected by their remoteness, but not much else. Their frail bodies and predictable flight paths are a skeet shoot compared with hitting speedy ICBMs, an ability that the United States is just starting to master. They're also vulnerable to jamming and hacking. Hardening their exteriors, providing them with some maneuverability, and having launch-on-demand replacements available are all key ingredients to national security. Yet defense doesn't win wars. In the future, the mere act of protecting these assets won't be enough to preserve American military superiority in space.

ASTRO POLITICS

In addition to an assortment of high-tech hardware, the United States could use an Alfred Thayer Mahan for the 21st century. In 1890, Mahan was a captain in the Navy when the first edition of his book, *The Influence of Sea Power on World History*, was published. Today it ranks among the classic texts of military theory. Mahan argued that nations achieve greatness only if they dominate the seas and their various geographic "pressure points," holding up the example of the British Royal Navy. One of Mahan's early readers was a young man named Theodore Roosevelt, who began to apply these ideas while working in the Department of the Navy during the 1890s, and later as president. Mahanian principles shook the country loose from its traditional strategy of coastal defense and underwrote a period of national dynamism, which included the annexation of Hawaii, victory in the Spanish–American War, and the construction of the Panama Canal.

No writer has clearly become the Mahan of space, though one candidate is Everett C. Dolman, a professor at the Air Force's School of Advanced Airpower Studies, in Alabama. Dolman's new book *Astropolitik* offers a grand strategy that would have the United States "endeavor at once to seize military control of low-Earth orbit" and impose "a police blockade of all current spaceports, monitoring and controlling all traffic both in and out." Dolman identifies low-Earth orbit as a chokepoint in the sense of Mahan—anybody who wants access to space must pass through it. "The United States should grab this vital territory now, when there's no real competition for it," Dolman tells me. "Once we're there, we can make sure the entry cost for anybody else wanting to achieve space control is too high. Whoever takes space will dominate Earth."

Dolman would benefit from a political benefactor. Mahan enjoyed the patronage of Roosevelt, who took a scholar's ideas and turned them into policies. Space has a number of advocates within the military bureaucracy, mostly among its younger members. It does not have a political champion, with the possible exception of Sen. Bob Smith, a New Hampshire Republican who has made the subject a personal passion. Smith calls space America's "next Manifest Destiny" and believes the Department of Defense should establish an independent Space Force to serve alongside the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Smith, however, may not stay in the Senate much longer, facing stiff political challenges at home.

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'Hegemonic control' of space would make the heavens safe for capitalism and science while also protecting the national security of the U.S.

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With the right mix of intellectual firepower and political muscle, the United States could achieve what Dolman calls "hegemonic control" of space. The goal would be to make the heavens safe for capitalism and science while also protecting the national security of the United States. "Only those spacecraft that provide advance notice of their mission and flight plan would be permitted in space," writes Dolman. Anything else would be shot down.

That may sound like 21st-century imperialism, which, in essence, it would be. But is that so bad? Imagine that the United States currently maintained a battery of space-based lasers. India and Pakistan could inch toward nuclear war over Kashmir, only to be told that any attempt by either side to launch a missile would result in a boost-phase blast from outer space. Without taking sides, the United States would immediately defuse a tense situation and keep the skies above Bombay and Karachi free of mushroom clouds. Moreover, Israel would receive protection from Iran and Iraq, Taiwan from China, and Japan and South Korea from the mad dictator north of the DMZ. The United States would be covered as well, able not merely to deter aggression, but also to defend against it.

National security always has been an expensive proposition, and there is no getting around the enormous costs posed by a robust system of space-based weaponry. It would take a supreme act of national will to make it a reality. We've done it before: Winning the Cold War required laying out trillions of dollars, much of it on machines, missiles, and warheads that never saw live combat. Seizing control of space also would cost trillions, but it would lead to a world made immeasurably safer for America and what it values. **NR**

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HELP!!!!

"We overthrew the Den Mother and formed a military junta!"

THIS WEEK WITH GEORGE

Cokie's going, so is Sam.
Neither was a Coulee Dam,
Shouldering the goo-goos back;
Now, as each receives the sack,
Here comes Stephanopoulos—
Even less than one of us:
So, as ABC talk dims,
I'll be tuning in to Tim's.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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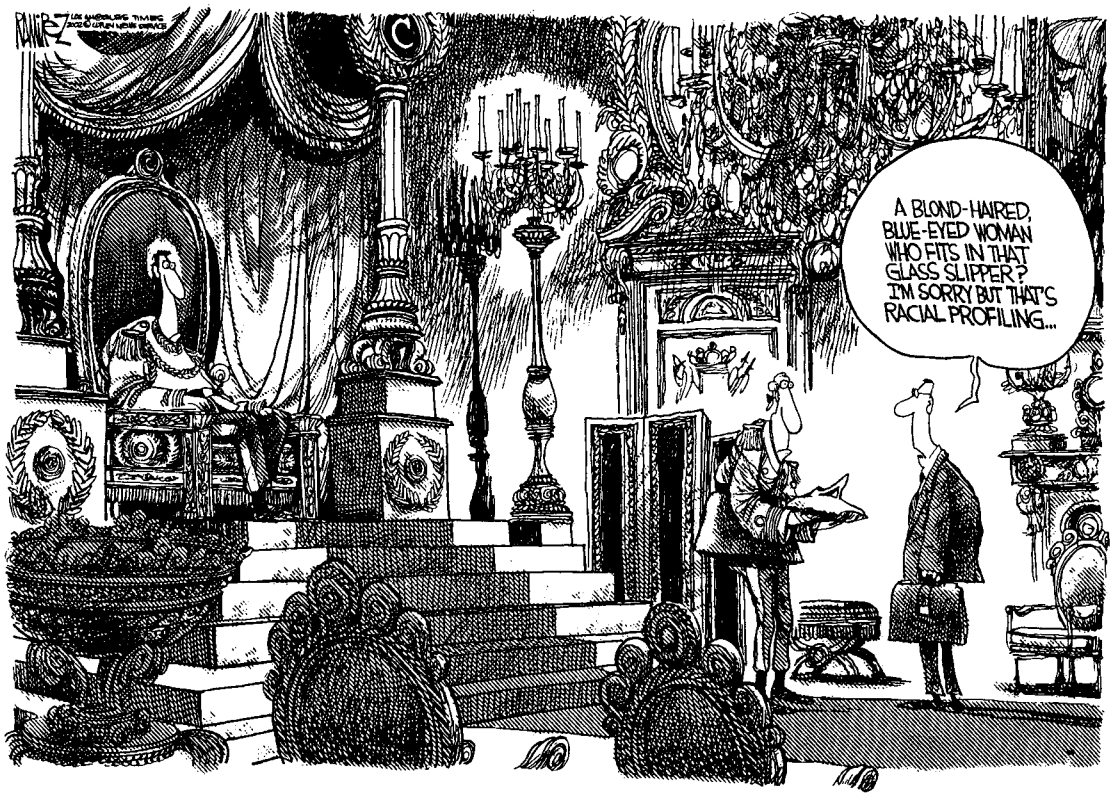

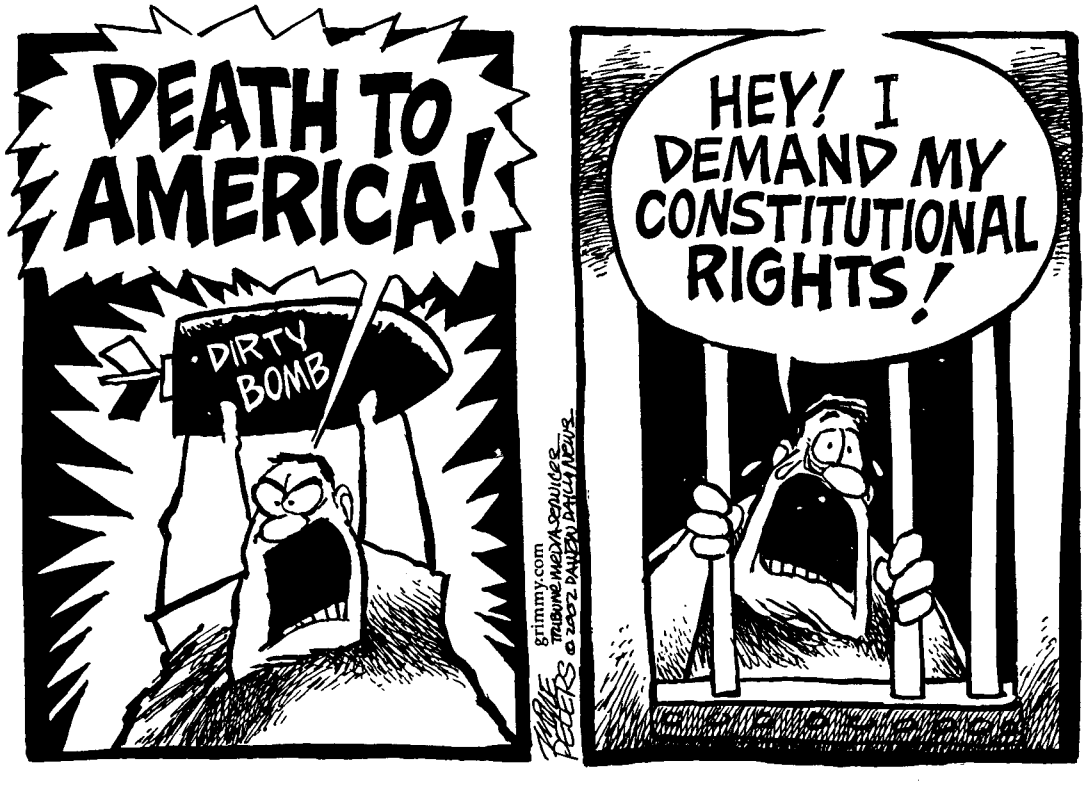

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

Official Transcript: *Larry King Live*, June 24, 2004

LARRY KING: "Tampa Bay! You're on with Saddam Hussein! What's your question?"
CALLER: "Am I on?"
LARRY KING: "You're on, Tampa. What's your question?"
CALLER: "Um . . . well, I wanted to know if Mr. Hussein—"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Please, call me Saddam."
CALLER: "Um . . . okay, Saddam. I wanted to know if he's happy that he became an American citizen, and if he's sorry that he gassed his own people?"
LARRY KING: "What about it? You're an American now, right?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Right. And proud of it."
LARRY KING: "Is it weird for you? You were a sworn enemy—"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Well, I never thought of us as enemies. I always wanted peace. It was the American administrations, I'm sorry to say, who felt—"
LARRY KING: "But weapons of mass destruction?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Okay, okay, I'm glad you brought that up. I'm really glad you brought that up. What do they mean when they say 'weapons of mass destruction?' I mean, in many ways, a car can be considered a—"
LARRY KING: "But the nuclear stuff and the poison gas and—"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "—and butter, for goodness' sakes, all those heart attacks and so forth . . ."
LARRY KING: "Scottsdale! You're on with Saddam Hussein!"
CALLER: "Hi there, Larry, I love what you do."
LARRY KING: "Thanks. What's your question, caller?"
CALLER: "I'm wondering if Saddam had a hard time getting a visa to this country, and if he had trouble getting his citizenship?"
LARRY KING: "What about it? Trouble? Hassle? Was there a hassle factor?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Truth? It was a breeze. I just filled out the form and sent in my forty dollars and—"
LARRY KING: "You filled out the form?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Yeah, they have this form that you have to get and—"
LARRY KING: "Under your own name?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Sure."
LARRY KING: "What did you put down under 'occupation'?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Um . . . 'university president,' I think."
LARRY KING: "Really?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Well, in fairness, Larry, I was Chancellor of Baghdad College of the Fallen Martyrs."
LARRY KING: "The book is 'Call Me Saddam.'"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Available everywhere and on Amazon."
LARRY KING: "We'll be back with Saddam Hussein for the whole hour. Tomorrow, the cast of 'The Facts of Life' reunited!"

Official Transcript: *The O'Reilly Factor*, June 26, 2004

BILL O'REILLY: "I mean, why? Why do it, Mr. Hussein? Why become one of the Great Satan's citizens?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Okay, in the first place, I never called it 'The Great Satan.'"
BILL O'REILLY: Oh, that is just bull—"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Do your research, okay? Okay? I never used that phrase!"
BILL O'REILLY: "Gimme a break. You hated America, okay? You hated our government! You hated our way of life!"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "You know what? So does The New York Times. But you let them stay, right?"
BILL O'REILLY: "Well . . ."
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Right?"
BILL O'REILLY: "But you're evading my question, Mr. Hussein. Why did you just pick up stakes one day, fly a private jet to Teterboro, and become an American?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "You want to know why? I'll tell you why. Because I was tired, okay? I was tired of the fighting and the back-and-forth all the time, of being Mr. Hated, of getting up every morning and thinking, 'Is this the day the American government kills me?'—just tired of it all."
BILL O'REILLY: "But why here? Why not . . . I don't know . . . Paris or something?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Because this is the land of opportunity. Because this is where you can turn your life around. Because if you make it here, you'll make it anywhere. And because my lawyers recommended it."
BILL O'REILLY: "Your lawyers?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "I'm suing the federal government. For violating my civil rights between 1990 and 2003."
BILL O'REILLY: "Well, that is just—"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Hey, I'm an American. I have rights, okay?"
BILL O'REILLY: "You know what they should do? They should get some Kurds and—"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "So it's one set of rights for some Americans and—"
BILL O'REILLY: ". . . with the camels or whatever they have, get a rope, tie 'em up with one end and tie the other end to your—"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: ". . . look it up! It's called a 'Bill of Attainder' and it's in our Constitution and—"
BILL O'REILLY: ". . . just squeeze them up tight in a tiny little noose and then give the camel a kick and—"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: ". . . then the terrorists will have won!"
BILL O'REILLY: ". . . and let 'em fly. But that's just my opinion, Mr. Hussein, and you're entitled to yours. I respect you for coming on 'The Factor.'"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Thanks, Bill."

Official Transcript: *Morning Latte with Bill Clinton*, July 2, 2004

BILL CLINTON: "I can't help but notice that the first three letters of your first name spells 'sad.' So, are you sad, Saddam?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Well, it's been a long journey, I think."
BILL CLINTON: "For all of us."
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Yes, of course. But in addition I had that long flight from Baghdad."
BILL CLINTON: "Of course. Forgive me."
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "But you know what? No, I am not sad. I'm . . . amazed. I'm amazed at this great country, at its forgiveness, at its generosity . . ."
BILL CLINTON: "Hey, Iraq's an amazing place, too . . ."
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Yes, but they want to kill me there."
BILL CLINTON: "But not here, Saddam. Not anymore."
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Yes, yes . . . I . . . yes . . . it is . . ."
BILL CLINTON: "Are you crying, Saddam?"
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "No, no. Of course not. It is a speck . . . in my eye. There . . . is something in the . . . air. Allergies, perhaps . . ."
BILL CLINTON: "It's okay . . . everything's okay now."
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "I just . . . I just . . ."
BILL CLINTON: "C'mere, big guy."

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Strobe Lite

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy, by Strobe Talbott (Random House, 480 pp., $29.95)

THE ending of the Cold War was one of history's great surprises. Involuntarily, as though in some sort of trance, the Soviet Union worked itself out of existence. Nothing of the kind could have happened without the ambitions of Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin. Their rivalry was all-consuming and epic, and in the course of it they reinvented themselves, their country, and its beliefs. The United States had only to sigh with relief and applaud from the grandstand its own famous victory.

What to make of that victory was the most important foreign-policy issue facing Bill Clinton as president. Magnanimity in victory is of course wise, and triumph over a fallen foe likely to rebound. But what exactly was the standing of this newborn Russia, and what ought it to be? Were its sudden self-proclaimed reforms and pluralist values a reality or only another Kremlin-inspired deception? At the best of times Yeltsin was a rough and unpredictable customer, and he and many of his colleagues were veteran Communists. Could they be trusted? Should they be trusted? The success or failure of Clinton's term in office depended to a great extent on the resolution of these hard questions.

To provide specialist advice about Russia, Clinton chose Strobe Talbott, creating for him a post as ambassador-at-large and adviser to the secretary of state, and later promoting him to deputy secretary of state. Forty-six at the time he joined the administration, Talbott certainly knew Russia, its culture and its

Talbott, Yeltsin, and Clinton by Roman Genn

language. His student thesis had been on Mayakovsky, the deranged Communist poet who committed suicide. He had translated Khrushchev's memoirs. For over 20 years on the staff of *Time* magazine, he had commented on everything relating to the Soviet Union, and written several books on arms control.

In spite of—and because of—these credentials, critics quickly lined up against Talbott. None doubted his intelligence; they queried the use he made of it. Fundamentally, he is an apologist for all things Russian, even in the Soviet era. Thoughtful observers have often been star-struck by the grandeurs and miseries of Russia, and Talbott is another romantic of the kind. However dire things in Russia might look, he is sure that they will turn out all right in the end.

And in fact things usually did turn out all right for him personally. Look at the luck, his critics said—often rancorously and unfairly—that had carried him effortlessly from an upper-class background through an education at Hotchkiss and Yale and straight into the ranks of the great and the good. Look at the luck that pitched Talbott and Clinton together as Rhodes Scholars at Oxford as early as 1969. (The two of them shared a house there.) Effortlessly again, Talbott was laying down a future as an FOB, a Friend of Bill, the suavest of recruits to what was otherwise to be the dubious Little Rock crowd.

Not in itself a good book, *The Russia Hand* nonetheless offers insight into the personality of Clinton. As described by Talbott, Clinton's energies were almost inseparably gifted and flawed. Clinton, it turned out, at the outset of his term applied to statesmanship the Hippocratic oath to do no harm. This pushed him too to be an apologist for Russia. The Cold War was over, he insisted, and he was "tomorrow's man" with a mission to do what he called the "stuff" necessary to save Russia from itself. Yeltsin was the guy who had stood on a tank, a senior FOB, "good ol' Boris," the other half of the Bill 'n' Boris show that the world was watching with fascinated disbelief.

In Clinton's mind the hope that Yeltsin and his colleagues were genuine reformers had become an instant and galvanizing article of faith. What Russians needed was "a huge public-works project"—though that of course well described the Communism they'd just escaped. Ol' Boris was short of money? He should have it, and some more too, never mind into whose pocket it went. Russia had an economy significantly smaller than Brazil's, but ol' Boris wanted to join the G-7? Fine. When Yeltsin sent him a rude letter, Clinton interpreted it as a cry of pain: "You can really feel the guy reaching out to us, and asking us to reach out to him. I'd really, really, like to help him." It was impossible to flatter Yeltsin too much, and some reason could always be found for giving him another chance. "You've got democracy in your heart," Clinton told this former member of the Soviet Politburo, who as Russian president was to shell his own parliament, arrest the vice president and speaker, and redraft the constitution to suit himself. What he really liked about Yeltsin, Clinton said with out-

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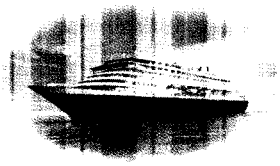

THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2002

POST-ELECTION MEXICO CRUISE

Sailing November 16–23 aboard Holland America's MS *Ryndam* with

KENNETH STARR, MILTON FRIEDMAN, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR, ARTHUR LAFFER, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY, CAL THOMAS, KELLYANNE CONWAY, JAY NORDLINGER, DINESH D'SOUZA, RAMESH PONNURU; TOM DELAY AND DAN QUAYLE ALSO EXPECTED!

Here's your special opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise.** Featuring an incredible cast of conservative celebrity speakers—and extremely affordable accommodations—this special trip will take place November 16–23, 2002, aboard Holland America Line's stunning MS *Ryndam*.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet America's most preeminent conservative celebrities: "Definites" for this special voyage are Judge **Kenneth Starr**, economists **Milton Friedman** and **Arthur Laffer**, columnist **Cal Thomas**, author **Dinesh D'Souza**, and ace pollster **Kellyanne Conway**. They'll be joining *NR* founder **William F. Buckley Jr.**, Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, Senior Editor **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger** for a relaxing week of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.

Also "strongly interested" in joining the hundreds of *NR* readers who'll take our trip to the sun-drenched Sea of Cortez are former Vice President **Dan Quayle** and House Majority Whip **Tom DeLay**. Without question, that's an *incredible* line-up.

Not only will our Mexico sojourn feature a spectacular speaker ensembles—it will also be the most affordable *NR* voyage ever (this will be our 12th!). If you've never been on an *NR* cruise make this your *first:* Prices start at an *incredibly* low $1,999!

An *NR* cruise is your chance to meet and intimately discuss politics and policy with some of the true giants of conservative affairs. Our exciting seminars—we've scheduled five panel sessions on our Mexico sojourn—allow for ample audience "Q & A," providing a scintillating take on current events. Imagine:

- Where does one even begin to ask Ken Starr questions?!
- Who better than renowned Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman and Arthur Laffer—the man behind that most famous of curves—to discuss America's fiscal health?!
- Can you get better insight on the Bush administration and the prosecution of the War on Terrorism than from Dan Quayle?!
- Or about what's *really* happening on Capitol Hill than from Tom DeLay?!
- *Or* about the public's mood on major issues than from ace pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick?!—*or* better analysis on America's culture conflicts than from columnist Cal Thomas or author Dinesh D'Souza?!

These conservative giants will be joined in political elucidating and sharp-shooting by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights, led by William F. Buckley Jr., who will be ably assisted by Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, and Jay Nordlinger.

On top of the exclusive "extras" *NR* offers—seminars and social events (we'll have three cocktail receptions and two late-night poolside "smokers" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars), and intimate dining with speakers—is a *great* cruise on a *great* ship. The *Ryndam* is one of the more beloved vessels of Holland America Line (which readers of *Travel & Leisure* last year voted the world's Highest-Rated Premium Cruise Line!).

On the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** you'll find the *Ryndam*'s accommodations (elegant staterooms and glamorous public spaces teeming with antiques) to be truly luxurious, and matched by the indulgent, courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions.

A FANTASTIC WEEK OF FUN, SUN, AND CONSERVATIVE REVELRY

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Sat/Nov. 16	San Diego		6:00PM	
Sun/Nov. 17	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Mon/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Tues/Nov. 19	Loreto	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Wed/Nov. 20	Pichilingue/La Paz	8:00AM	6:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Thur/Nov. 21	Cabo San Lucas	7:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Fri/Nov. 22	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sat/Nov. 23	San Diego	8:00AM		

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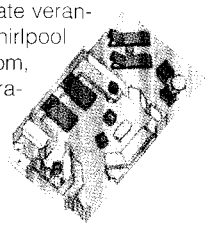
OVER 185 CABINS RESERVED ALREADY! DON'T DELAY, BOOK TODAY!
SPECTACULAR STATEROOMS STARTING AT ONLY $1,999 P/P!

Travel experts agree: Holland America Line offers high-valued premium cruising. Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Ryndam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through HAL), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: $1,199 p/p for ages 2 and older, $752 p/p for children younger than 2.

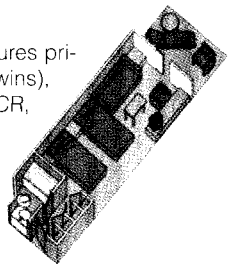
SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge service, complimentary personalized stationery, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, *plus special disembarkation privileges.*



SOLD OUT

Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.

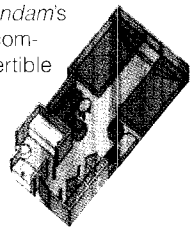


Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999 P/P
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,599

SOLD OUT

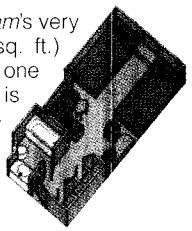
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,899 P/P
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,299

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,499 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999

LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,599

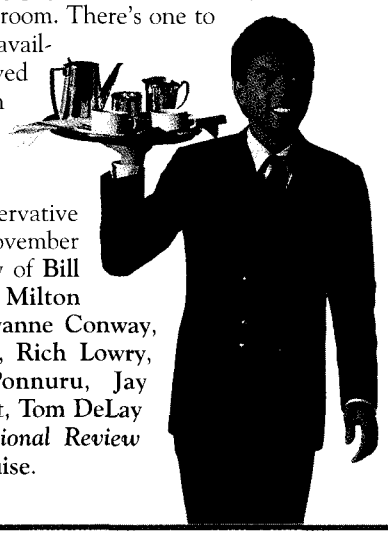
You'll want to join us for the exciting political discussions, the luxurious cruise experience, and the rest and relaxation you so richly deserve. *And* for the remarkable destinations. The ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** will feature a balmy itinerary, starting in San Diego and—over seven glorious days around the "Baja California Sur"—visiting beautiful **Loreto, La Paz** (and nearby **Pichilingue**) and **Cabo San Lucas** (plus scenic cruising of "Sierra de la Giganta"). Here are some port highlights:

LORETO: *Frommer's Mexico 2002* guide puts it best: Loreto "is a rare gem that sparkles under the desert sky. Here, the purple hues of the Giganta Mountains meet the indigo waters of the Sea of Cortez, providing a spectacular backdrop of natural contrasts for the town's historical past." Site of the first mission in the Californias (*Mision Nuestra Señora de Loreto* and *Museo de las Misiones* are must-sees) and the first European settlement on the Baja, Loreto remains, says *Frommer's*, "the wonderfully funky fishing village and well-kept secret that it has been for decades."

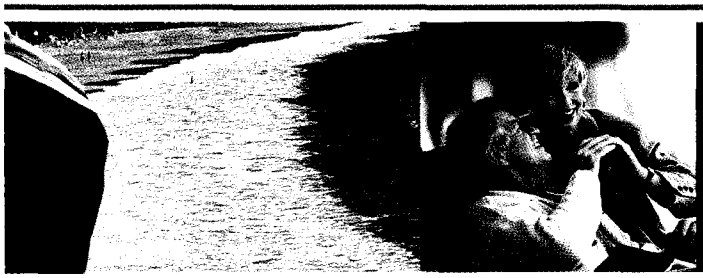
LA PAZ/PICHILINGUE: "La Paz," says *Frommer's*, "means 'peace,' and the feeling seems to float on the ocean breezes" here. It "remains slow-paced and relaxed . . . an easy-going sophisticated city and the guardian of 'old Baja' atmosphere, with beautiful deserted beaches just minutes away that compliment the lively beach and malecón that fronts the town center." Best known from John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*, La Paz—a haven for kayaking, fishing, and diving (you can even swim with sea lions off Espíritu Santo and Los Islotes)—is "the undisputed adventure capital of Baja."

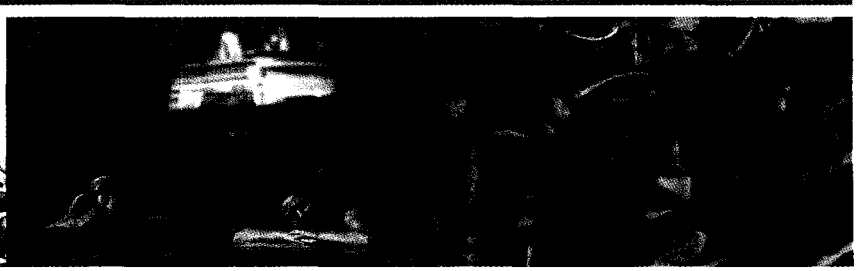
CABO SAN LUCAS: Once renowned for big-game fishing, Cabo San Lucas is now a mecca for golf (there are Jack Nicklaus- and Robert Trent Jones-designed courses here—we'll be setting up an exclusive *NR* outing for any wanna-duffers), kayaking, and superior "R&R"-ing on gorgeous beaches.

Over 185 cabins have been reserved, many by *NR* cruise "alumni" (they come back again and again because of the wonderful experiences our trips provide). Sign up today and join them for on what will be one of the best weeks you will ever enjoy. Just fill out the application form on the following page, and return it (by mail or fax) so you can secure your stateroom. There's one to fit everyone's taste and budget (available on a first come, first served basis). You'll also find pricing on Holland America's affordable "Fly Cruise" airfare program.



Take part in a truly special conservative event. Join us in Mexico this November on the *Ryndam*, in the company of **Bill Buckley, Kenneth Starr, Milton Friedman, Arthur Laffer, Kellyanne Conway, Cal Thomas, Dinesh D'Souza, Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jay Nordlinger**, and, we're confident, **Tom DeLay** and **Dan Quayle**—on the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise.**





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National Review 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin)

Street Mailing Address

( )

City State ZIP

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

Payment

A deposit of $700 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $350 per person is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to June 14, 2002*	*$50 per person*
June 14, 2002 to Augus16, 2002	*$350 per person*
AFTER *August 16, 2002*	*100% of cruise/package* 04/08/NR

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from San Diego.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $20 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in San Diego.

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Ryndam*. Children do not require photo ID.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review, as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor National Review shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: Let us make your air travel arrangements with **Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program**, which offers a convenient air program that includes round-trip, economy-class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you cannot use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class), and all baggage transfers, from the following cities:

AL	Birmingham	669	FL	Jacksonville	549	KS	Wichita	549	MO	Springfield	619	NC	Raleigh/Durham	689	SC	Columbia	689	VA	Richmond	689
	Huntsville	679		Miami	599	KY	Lexington	619		St. Louis	559	OK	Oklahoma City	619		Greenville	689		Roanoke	689
	Mobile	599		Orlando	599		Louisville	619	MT	Billings	519		Tulsa	619	TX	Amarillo	619	WA	Seattle	379
AR	Little Rock	549		Pensacola	689	LA	Baton Rouge	619	NE	Omaha	619	OH	Akron	619		Austin	559		Spokane	479
AZ	Phoenix	289		Tampa	609		New Orleans	549	NV	Las Vegas	309		Cincinnati	549		Corpus Christi	549	WI	Madison	619
	Tucson	289	GA	Augusta	689		Shreveport	619		Reno	289		Cleveland	559		Dallas/Ft. Worth	539		Milwaukee	549
CA	Fresno	319		Atlanta	599	ME	Bangor	689	NJ	Newark	609		Columbus	539		El Paso	549			
	Los Angeles	259	HI	Honolulu	809		Portland	689	NM	Albuquerque	519		Dayton	619		Houston (IAH)	539		CANADA ($USD)	
	Oakland	289	ID	Boise	519	MD	Baltimore	599	NY	Albany	689		Toledo	619		Lubbock	619		Calgary	589
	Sacramento	289	IL	Chicago	549	MA	Boston	669		Binghamton	669	OR	Medford	369		Midland/Odessa	579		Edmonton	589
	San Francisco	289		Peoria	619		Worcester	689		Buffalo	679		Portland	379		San Antonio	539		Montreal	669
	San Jose	289		Springfield	619	MI	Detroit	549		New York	609	PA	Allentown	609	TN	Chattanooga	619		Ottawa	679
CO	Col. Springs	519	IN	Evansville	619		Grand Rapids	619		Rochester	689		Harrisburg	689		Knoxville	619		Quebec	719
	Denver	529		Ft. Wayne	619	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	559		Syracuse	6859		Philadelphia	599		Memphis	619		Toronto	659
CT	Hartford	609		Indianapolis	549		Rochester	619	NC	Asheville	679		Pittsburgh	599		Nashville	619		Vancouver	439
DC	Washington	609	IA	Cedar Rapids	619	MS	Jackson	669		Charlotte	679	RI	Providence	689	UT	Salt Lake City	459		Victoria	559
FL	Fort Lauderdale	609		Des Moines	559	MO	Kansas City	549		Greensboro	689	SC	Charleston	689	VA	Norfolk	669		Winnipeg	619

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the Ryndam (Port of San Diego near downtown) are not included; the distance from airport to cruise ship is very close. Schedule your arrival in San Diego leaving plenty of time for flight delay! You should arrive in San Diego no later than 2:00pm on November 16th. Your return flight from San Diego should not be arranged before 11:00am on November 23rd. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $50pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure date. 5. Transfers are available for purchase from the San Diego airport for $20 per person, and must be arranged for in advance via The Cruise Authority.

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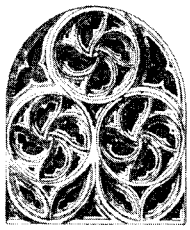
landish finality, was that "He's an Irish poet."

Here was a view of politics as sentimentality writ large, by definition inclusive and not exclusive, a species of public do-gooding. By his own account, Talbott supported Clinton unconditionally. If Clinton had an overall aim, it was to pursue the goal of a united and integrated Europe as though this were an unarguable and unqualified good. There is no suggestion here that he ever devoted any thought to the position in the world that the U.S. ought to occupy, nor to the purposes to which its financial and military strengths might properly be put, nor to what its relationship to an integrated Europe might eventually be. Clinton simply believed that there were "glimpses of blue" on the horizon. What was needed was a slogan to encapsulate the post–Cold War era in a way that did justice to Clinton's blue glimpses. It continued to irk Clinton that neither Talbott nor anyone else could come up with a slogan of the kind.

Clinton and Yeltsin had 18 meetings in all. To judge by his descriptions, Talbott was intimately involved in the trafficking of these occasions, in their "choreography," to use a favorite word of his. Quite often, Yeltsin was drunk, sometimes incapably, which makes for entertaining reading. Keeping count of Yeltsin's intake, Talbott observes, was "a standard practice at summiteering." Drunk or sober, Yeltsin was able to play on Clinton's sentimentality. The more he roared and blustered, the harder Clinton tried to accommodate him. This primitive and effective blackmail was a punishment Clinton brought down willingly on himself.

Three main areas of contention had to be resolved. The former countries of the Soviet bloc remained highly suspicious of Russian intentions, and wished to join NATO for security reasons. Ukraine and the Baltic republics, formerly incorporated against their wishes into the Soviet Union, similarly sought whatever American protection was available. The Russians resented all such steps. Then, in 1991, Slobodan Milosevic broke up the Yugoslav federation in the hope of creating a Greater Serbia, incorporating Bosnia and Kosovo by force at the expense of all who were not Serbs. With inconceivable ineptitude, European politicians almost brought about a more general war. Orthodox and Slav, Russia saw itself as a big brother to Milosevic, and hostile to American intervention in the Balkans. Finally, the proposal to build a nuclear-missile defense appeared to the Russians to be directed against them, not against rogue states as the Americans claimed.

These points were all resolved to American satisfaction. Sickeningly sentimental though he was, the moment Clinton began exercising American power, Yeltsin abandoned his stage-managed blackmail with an exhausted phrase, for instance, "Well, I tried." In spite of Russian objections, former Soviet satellites have been admitted to NATO on their own and Western terms; Russia withdrew the troops formerly garrisoned in the Baltic states and has made its peace with NATO. The U.S. intervened to resolve the crises in Bosnia and Kosovo; though continuing to play little tricks, Russia had no choice but to consent, and Milosevic is at present on trial for his crimes. Missile defense is also now on course.



It is hard to follow Talbott in perpetual orbit through Moscow, Helsinki, Brussels, Budapest, Rome, and the myriad caravan-stops apparently still obligatory in international diplomacy. The corridors of power everywhere were filled with friends to whom he attaches adjectives like admirable, creative, invaluable, and hard-working. To give him his due, he repays no scores. His opposite number in Moscow was Yuri Mamedov, depicted as a colorful and inventive official. Equally positive were the other Russians with whom he was in regular contact, for example prime ministers Yegor Gaidar and Viktor Chernomyrdin, foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev, and even Yevgeny Primakov, the old-style apparatchik Yeltsin fell back on when he couldn't think of anyone else. Boot-faced Russian generals couldn't faze Talbott.

Ugly moments are passed over without fuss. When once Yeltsin proved awkward, "I closed my eyes and allowed myself a long sigh." Putting an end to protracted lying, Clinton confessed on television to his relationship with Monica Lewinsky. "I couldn't watch," Talbott recounts. "I could neither fathom the private behavior of Clinton as my friend nor mitigate the public consequences for him as my boss."

A minor caveat: Relating his conversations with Clinton, Talbott resorts to direct speech, sometimes over several pages. Did he really, notebook in hand, take the words down? More worrying still, he reconstructs Clinton's exchanges and telephone calls with Yeltsin, also over several pages. Were Yeltsin's words transcribed, translated, and made available? Otherwise this has to be something akin to fictionalization.

Much more damaging, though, is Talbott's assumption that the process and substance of these 18 meetings can stand without further discussion. To give money so unrestrictedly to Russia in the Yeltsin years was to spread an already inherent corruption deeper and wider into the indefinite future. To encourage Yeltsin in this respect was also to seal the unholy bargain whereby he jobbed his successor Vladimir Putin into the presidency in exchange for immunity from prosecution: an ominous legacy. Clinton also left unsettled the sale by Russia of nuclear technology to Iran: an even more ominous, and immediate, legacy.

Just once, in this long book, does Talbott allow himself a flash of intuition: and how it stands out in the ever-rolling stream of his prose! Clinton and Yeltsin had affinities, he says: They were the same height and shape and shoe size, they both had faced impeachment, and contended with their legislatures and a hostile media. Yeltsin combined "prodigious determination and fortitude with grotesque indiscipline and a kind of genius for self-abasement. He was both a very big man and a very bad boy, a natural leader and an incurable screw-up. All this Clinton recognized, found easy to forgive and wanted others to join him in forgiving." Recognizing and congratulating each other quite outside the boundaries of the Hippocratic oath to do no harm, Bill and Boris blithely interacted to consummate the moral and intellectual void of the present day. This was better than the Cold War, but it was a poor sort of victory. It was not his intention, but Talbott is the first FOB to make this plain. **NR**

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The Old Bull

ARTHUR HERMAN

The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Master of the Senate, by Robert A. Caro (Knopf, 1,167 pp., $35)

LYNDON JOHNSON'S reputation is a useful barometer of the mood of America's liberal intelligentsia. When they are depressed or on the defensive, his stock tends to rise; when they are feeling strong and ebullient, it plummets virtually without trace. In the palmy, confident days of Camelot, when Johnson was JFK's despised and neglected vice president, they dismissed him as a rube and an ignorant boor. Then, in the uncertainty following the Kennedy assassination and the 1964 Goldwater insurgency, they clung to him as their savior; Johnson encouraged this with his pompous campaign catch phrase, "Let us continue." They even opened a New York discotheque called the LBJ, where glitterati grooved and frugged beneath enormous pictures of the man with the face (in Rowland Evans and Robert Novak's memorable phrase) of "a chain-gang boss."

Then, in the late Sixties, liberals eagerly joined hands with the New Left in consigning Johnson to a place in the demonology second only to the Dark Prince himself, Richard Milhous Nixon. The reason liberals abandoned Johnson was simple: Vietnam, which the Left—ignoring Kennedy's crucial role—blamed on him, and which inspired a generation of campus radicals to chant, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"

However, with the rise of Reagan and a rejuvenated Republican party in the Eighties, and John Kennedy's reputation increasingly dimmed, liberals began to look back at Johnson with a certain wistfulness. Today, he is fast becoming their favorite president since FDR. Again, the reason is simple: civil rights. Civil rights is the one unalloyed triumph postwar American liberalism can cling to, when everything else it believed in lies in political and intellectual ruins. And more than anyone else, Lyndon Johnson was responsible for crafting and passing the two landmark civil rights bills of our era, first as majority leader of the Senate in 1957 and then as president in 1964. Everything else—Vietnam, the botched Great Society and war on poverty—can be forgiven, as long as Johnson remains the liberals' standard bearer on this, their one remaining shining moment.

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With Kennedy's reputation increasingly dimmed, liberals began to look back to LBJ.

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Robert Caro's new book, his latest contribution to his marathon multivolume study of LBJ, completes this long process of rehabilitation. This is striking, because his two earlier volumes, *The Path to Power* and *Means of Ascent*, strongly reflected the earlier, demonizing view. Those books described a man rising up from the Texas hill country obsessed with gaining power regardless of the cost. They revealed a young politician and congressman who betrayed every principle he had and every person he met in order to gratify his own insatiable ambition. No story was too scurrilous, no detail too ugly (including how Johnson would force his staffers and secretaries to sit and listen while he did his daily stool) to be left out of Caro's excoriating account of a career built on cynicism, ruthlessness, and greed, "in which any manoeuver is justified by the end of victory. . . . a morality that is amorality": in short, an American Richard III.

Now, twenty years later, the mood has changed. *Master of the Senate* carries Johnson from freshman senator to his selection as Democratic leader only four years later in 1953, and then to serving as Kennedy's running mate in 1960. It shows us a Johnson who is still ruthless, greedy, and ambitious. He still bullies and humiliates his staff, choosing to urinate in a chamber pot in his busy office rather than use a toilet, and still treats his wife Lady Bird vilely, openly carrying on affairs with other women (including Nixon's former nemesis, Helen Gahagan Douglas). He still collects envelopes stuffed with cash from his "ultraconservative" Texas oil patrons. He destroys a liberal nominee for the Federal Power Commission, Leland Olds, with a bit of ruthless red-baiting that would have made Joe McCarthy wince. He courts and then betrays his mentor, the powerful Richard Russell of Georgia, who enabled him to become minority and then majority leader of the Senate, just as he betrayed his earlier mentor in the House, Sam Rayburn.

But now all is forgiven, because as majority leader Johnson skillfully crafts the legislation that will become the 1957 civil rights bill, the first to pass the Senate since Reconstruction. Caro takes time to describe Johnson's role in other Senate victories dear to liberals—including the censure of Joe McCarthy—but the battle for the civil rights bill, which established the first Civil Rights Commission and made guaranteeing the right of blacks to vote a federal responsibility, remains the centerpiece of the book.

It is not a pretty story. Johnson conspired with southern segregationists to kill the original Eisenhower-sponsored bill that passed the House. This was not going to be a Republican bill, or even a liberal Democratic bill; it was going to be a Lyndon Johnson bill, pure and simple. Caro shows how Johnson deceived Richard Russell into allowing it to proceed out of committee; how he sold political favors to liberal senators like Frank Church of Idaho in order to kill their support for portions of the bill that might trigger a southern filibuster; and how in the end Johnson sold out the bill's original supporters by passing legislation that was more symbol than substance. All of this shows Johnson at his most scheming and manipulative, but with one difference. Now, Caro says, he was "deceiving and betraying and cheating on behalf of something other than himself"—in other words, for the cause of equality for blacks.

Caro's virtues as a biographer are that he is clear, comprehensive, and never

Mr. Herman is the author of *How the Scots Invented the Modern World*, which was recently nominated for Britain's Samuel Johnson Prize.

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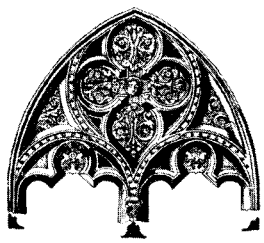
dull; he has an eye for the clarifying detail and vivid anecdote (as in his two chapters on Richard Russell). His crucial shortcoming—and it has hampered him since he published his first biography more than thirty years ago—is that he lacks any historical sense. As with most liberals, everything and everyone has to be fitted into a simple-minded dramatic scheme of heroes, villains (largely conservatives and big businessmen), and victims (primarily blacks and Hispanics). A more complicated reality, and more complicated human motives, always pass him by.

He seems completely unaware, for example, that many of his heroes early in the book, midwestern and western Progressive senators like Hiram Johnson and Burton Wheeler, who made the New Deal possible, were also leading isolationists, a group he roundly condemns as reactionaries. Likewise, Richard Russell emerges as a racist bigot in one chapter because of his support for segregation, but then turns into Caro's hero because he helps to prevent Republicans and Douglas MacArthur from toppling the Truman administration over the Korean War. Caro never attempts to explain the discrepancy, or to understand why Russell makes the political decisions he does. The only standards Caro attempts to apply to the actions of others are his own. This turns history into a moral minefield, in which the Good Guys in one chapter are instantly transformed into Bad Guys in the next, depending on whether they happen to support a progressive cause or oppose one.

It undermines Caro's view of Johnson, as well. He is incapable of seeing Johnson as the product of a particular time, place, and culture, of a Texas that was partly southern but also part of the pre-Sunbelt West, in which issues like segregation and the New Deal had a different feel than they did for Russell and other politicians from the Deep South. Instead, he sees Johnson motivated by only two things, ambition and compassion—as simplistic a view of his subject as any major biographer has ever had. Of Johnson's ambition, evidence is more than abundant. Caro's evidence for his compassion, his "need to help others" and his "deep sense of identification with the poor" because of his own experience as a penniless hill-country boy, remains pretty thin, even after twenty years of archival digging. But, Caro assures us, that compassion for blacks and Hispanics was there all along—even though he used openly racial epithets like "nigger" and "boy," liked to play a practical joke on black gas-station attendants by putting a rattlesnake in his car's trunk and then asking them to check the back, and made his first speech as a senator attacking an anti-lynching bill. And so having gained power as majority leader, Johnson was ready to become an instrument of social justice. "The compassion that had been hidden," Caro assures us, "was to be revealed now—in full."

If that is true, then compassion turns out to be a pretty slender reed on which to prop up a political program. As Caro himself admits, when Johnson's ambition and compassion collided, ambition always won. Caro tries to convince us that Johnson championed the civil rights bill because at some deep level he believed in it. But nothing in his own account supports this view. Instead, what we see is Johnson embracing the bill because he knew that a southern politician who pushed civil rights legislation through Congress would win a secure spot on the national Democratic stage. By passing it, he would win the gratitude of liberals like Hubert Humphrey. By neutering its most significant portions, and stripping the Civil Rights Commission of any actual power, he would at the same time win the admiration of his fellow southern Democrats. All of this was just one more step in his quest for his ultimate ambition, the presidency.



So in the end, Caro shows that the civil rights bill was not a victory for liberal principles. It was a victory for a man with no principles at all, who used his liberal allies in the same way he used his mentors Rayburn and Russell. Caro presents the Senate of those years as a decaying gerontocracy, a permanent obstacle to political reform and social justice. As majority leader, Johnson did nothing to change that. He made the Senate the vessel of his own ambitions; as president, he would betray it just as he betrayed everyone else, with the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. Similarly, much of the good his 1964 civil rights bill did would be largely undone by his ill-considered Great Society programs and war on poverty.

But, again, none of this matters to Caro or other Johnson admirers. The end—promoting the civil rights agenda—justifies any means and redeems any other behavior, no matter how vicious or destructive. It is the same process we saw played out in the Clinton era. It exposes a morality in which, to repeat Caro's own words, "any manoeuver is justified by the end of victory. . . . a morality that is amorality." Except this time it is not the epitaph of Lyndon Johnson. It is the epitaph of modern liberalism, and of Caro himself. **NR**

WHAT IS THERE TO SAY?

What do they say each new morning
in Heaven? They would
weary of one always
singing how green the
green trees are in
Paradise.

Surely it would seem convention
and affectation
to rejoice every time
Helen went by, since
she would have gone
daily by.

What can I say then each time
your whiteness glimmers
and fashions in the night?
If each time your voice
opens so near
in that dark

new? What can I say each morning
after that you will
believe? But there is this
stubborn provincial
singing in me,
O, each time.

—JACK GILBERT

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The Politics of Victory

RICHARD LOWRY

Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime, by Eliot A. Cohen (Free Press, 272 pp., $25)

CONSERVATIVES all know why the U.S. lost the Vietnam War—meddling civilian leaders handcuffed the military and prevented it from vigorously pursuing the victory that was there for the taking. The lesson has become an article of faith in conservative orthodoxy, and in the political culture more broadly: American generals should be left alone to make war as they see fit, protected from any interference from grasping, ill-informed, timid politicians.

Eliot A. Cohen makes a persuasive case in his excellent new book that there are three problems with this view of Vietnam: It is wrong as a factual matter; it blinds us to the lessons of history's truly great wartime leaders; and it impedes America's ability to fight successfully to this day. Cohen argues that, counter to the post-Vietnam conventional wisdom, war is inherently a political enterprise, and therefore requires the close supervision of political leaders.

For his core proposition, Cohen quotes Lincoln biographers John Nicolay and John Hay:

> Every war is begun, dominated, and ended by political considerations; without a nation, without a government, without money or credit, without popular enthusiasm which furnishes volunteers, or public support which endures conscription, there could be no army and no war—neither beginning nor end of methodical hostilities. War and politics, campaign and statecraft, are Siamese twins, inseparable and interdependent; and to talk of military operations without the direction and interference of an administration is as absurd as to plan a campaign without recruits, pay or rations.

It is a testament to Cohen's intelligent and timely book that by its end, this point no longer seems so much brilliant or counterintuitive, as, simply, obvious.

When it comes to Vietnam, Cohen's perspective leads him to defend LBJ's notorious review of bombing targets as an appropriate exercise of oversight, given the strategic and political consequences of the targeting choices. In Korea, the military had heedlessly prompted a massive Chinese intervention, and a repeat was obviously to be avoided. Besides, LBJ approved most of the targets anyway. It is hard to blame Johnson's interference for the failure of the war, Cohen writes, when military leaders were also clueless about how to fight it: "There is no evidence that they understood any better than the civilian leadership the mentality of friend or foe, or that they had any ideas for bringing the war to a conclusion on terms acceptable to American diplomacy and bearable for the American public."

Oddly enough, the Vietnam War was fought largely in keeping with the post-Vietnam paradigm. LBJ never had sharp exchanges with military leaders over strategy and tactics, so Westmoreland was allowed to stumble on, unbothered, with his clumsy campaign. Cohen quotes Robert McNamara: "Looking back, I clearly erred by not forcing, then [in July 1965] or later, in either Saigon or Washington—a knock-down, drag-out debate over the loose assumptions, unasked questions, and thin analysis underlying our military strategy in Vietnam." Thus, Cohen chalks up the LBJ team's failings to "their inability to pick the right generals, to conduct a strategic (and, for that matter, operational and tactical) dialogue with them, to set priorities and maintain proportion in a secondary conflict." In short, not enough political guidance, and especially not enough *good* political guidance.

The heart of Cohen's book is case studies of four political leaders who got it right: Lincoln, Clemenceau, Churchill, and Ben-Gurion. Cohen makes an especially spirited defense of Winston Churchill's World War II leadership from its revisionist detractors. The charge against Churchill is that he was an undisciplined, overenthusiastic pest, a rank military amateur who constantly harassed the professionals with his harebrained schemes. But, as Cohen points out, Churchill let himself get talked out of most of his ill-considered ideas (for example, an amphibious assault on northern Norway), while he got the big strategic questions right (the imperative of opposing Hitler as early as 1938, the importance of the American alliance) and operational ones as well (the need for high-tech equipment for an eventual cross-channel landing, the innovation of daylight precision bombing).

The most important thing Churchill did was simply to ask questions. "It is always right to probe," he once said. And so he did, engaging in a running argument with his military on everything from invasion plans to whether regiments should be allowed to continue to wear their traditional patches. Churchill took away from World War I a keen sense of the weaknesses of military leaders, and his constant questions kept the military from getting away with

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fuzzy thinking or weak assumptions. It also had a catalytic effect: "A new sense of purpose and of urgency was created," wrote one British official, "as it came to be realized that a firm hand, guided by a strong will, was on the wheel."

War always needs that firm hand, and lately it has been lacking in the U.S. Cohen argues that by the time of the Persian Gulf War, not only did the civilian leadership seek not to interfere with military operations, it allowed the military to make important political judgments. Colin Powell had an integral role in calling an end to the ground war at its 100th hour, and in keeping its goals from stretching beyond merely removing Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. The first President Bush had disastrously bowed to the illusion that war was a matter of mere battlefield management. But whether or not the Gulf War had truly been won was a more complicated—a more subjective, and more political—question than simply whether all Iraqi soldiers had left Kuwait.

Of course, in a meaningful sense, the war *hadn't* been won—which is why the current President Bush is facing the same questions that confronted his father. His military is still a timid post-Vietnam force that doesn't like the political complications that would be involved in, say, occupying Iraq. So, it apparently has a "case of the slows," as Lincoln would put it, when it comes to finishing off Saddam. America's generals may not be, in Churchill's words, "psalm-singing, uniformed defeatists," but they do bring to mind one of Churchill's observations: "You may take the most gallant sailor, the most intrepid airman, or the most audacious soldier, put them at a table together—what do you get? The sum total of their fears!" Whether Bush can move the generals will go a long way to determining whether he joins the ranks of great wartime leaders.

Cohen writes that Churchill's success depended "less on professional expertise than on wide reading and massive common sense." If Bush's common sense isn't necessarily "massive," he certainly has plenty of it. And if his reading hasn't been all that wide, he could do worse than picking up this fine book, which almost reads like an instruction manual to handling the tasks ahead. **NR**

Southern Comfort

RALPH REED

The Rise of Southern Republicans, by Earl Black and Merle Black (Harvard, 384 pp., $29.95)

DURING the 1988 campaign, vice-presidential nominee Dan Quayle appeared at a North Carolina–South Carolina football game in Columbia, S.C.—the kind of autumn festival that is, in the South, part athletic contest and part cultural event. As the teams briefly suspended play in honor of the dignitary in their midst, the game announcer welcomed Quayle to the press box over the stadium sound system. Spontaneously, 70,000 people rose to their feet to give him a standing ovation that lasted several minutes: The roar was full-throated and deafening. These southerners seemed to be saying of the man that the northern cultural elite ridiculed, "We're for him because he shares our values." Apparently, they were representative of their region, because nine weeks later, the Bush-Quayle ticket won every state in the South on the way to a landslide national victory.

This moment marked but one epiphany along the South's road from Democratic dominance to Republican ascendancy. It has been a remarkable transformation: In 1950, only two members of the entire House delegation from the South were Republicans; there were no Republican U.S. senators. By the 2000 elections, Republicans accounted for a majority of the representatives from the region, and 14 of its 22 senators. The rise of the southern Republicans is one of the most consequential developments in modern American politics: By changing the politics of the South, the GOP—and conservatives in particular—changed the politics of the nation.

This new book is a marvelous chronicle of this remarkable shift. Earl Black and Merle Black, brothers who teach political science at Rice University and Emory University respectively, are perhaps the most respected academic experts on the topic; they make a persuasive case that the emergence of the Republican party in the South is the primary reason for the modern Republican ascendancy at the national level, and also for the existence today of the most competitive national political environment since the 1880s.

The reason is simple and mathematical. After the 1946 elections, the Republicans briefly controlled the House of Representatives by holding 96 seats in the North, 82 in the Midwest, and 48 in the West—but only 5 in the South. The arithmetic was on the side of the Democrats: With a solid South, Democrats needed to win only one-third of the remaining House seats in the nation to regain their majority. They did so in 1948 and held power (with a single two-year interruption) for nearly a half century.

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The emergence of the Republican party in the South is the primary reason for the GOP's national ascendancy.

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After the 1994 elections, when Newt Gingrich of Georgia became the first Republican Speaker of the House in two generations, the GOP held 45 seats in the North, 51 in the Midwest, 78 in the West, and 61 in the South. It was the

Mr. Reed is a Republican political strategist and chairman of the Georgia Republican party.

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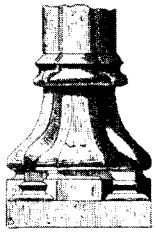
emergence of a strong Republican party in the South that made the national majority possible.

This was a dramatic break from the South's past. In 1952, four-fifths of white voters in the South were Democrats. So strong were their loyalties that in 1960 John F. Kennedy actually ran stronger in Georgia than he did in Massachusetts. During this period, the story of the GOP in the South is a tale of abject futility: Excluding a handful of mountain districts with a pro-Union heritage, Republicans won only 7 of 2,434 congressional elections in the South between 1900 and 1950. There was no party structure to speak of, and the few Republicans who labored on served primarily to control patronage during Republican presidential administrations.

How did all this change? How did the South become arguably the most naturally Republican region in the country? The Black brothers isolate four major factors. The first, as is so often the case in the tortured history of the South, is race. The crucial moment came in 1964, when Lyndon Johnson passed the Civil Rights Act. White southerners had long viewed the Democratic party as the guarantor of white supremacy. For many, Johnson's civil rights agenda was a betrayal of this devil's bargain. Barry Goldwater, one of only a handful of senators from outside the South to oppose the civil rights bill, laid the groundwork for a new Republican party. Goldwater carried six southern states in 1964 and his coattails swept in numerous Republican congressmen. This development was not without harmful side effects, for as white conservatives poured into the GOP, they displaced many longtime black loyalists, and the failure of the Republican party to win minority votes continues to this day.



The second factor was Ronald Reagan. If Goldwater was the midwife of the modern Republican party in the South, Reagan led it to maturity and legitimacy. His message of a strong military, anti-Communism, and limited government was well-suited to the South, the most openly patriotic and culturally conservative region in the country. The authors point to a 1980 poll in which 88 percent of Texans declared that they wanted the U.S. to have military superiority over the Soviet Union: This was one of the messages that Reagan embodied. Southern states also had large veteran populations, and boasted a disproportionate share of military bases. Though he came from the Midwest, by way of the West, Reagan adhered to the traditional values that many Southerners identified with. In his 1984 reelection, he carried an astonishing 69 percent of white southerners.

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Recent Democratic wins were largely personal victories, not party victories.

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A third factor was the rise of the religious-conservative vote and its increasing allegiance to the GOP. From William Jennings Bryan (who stood with the evangelicals during the 1925 Scopes trial) to Jimmy Carter, southern evangelicals had been loyal Democrats. But by the late 1970s, the leftward drift of the national Democrats—and disappointment with Carter—curdled into a backlash in the form of the Moral Majority and the broader religious-conservative movement it symbolized. These voters were spread out unevenly across the nation: Religious conservatives who frequently attend church comprise about one-third of the national electorate—but roughly 40 percent of voters in the South. Their shift in loyalty to the Republicans marked the largest demographic change in the U.S. electorate since the change in party allegiance by black voters and the rise of the union vote during the New Deal. The consequences were immense: In 1988, George Bush won 83 percent of the evangelical vote, and in the ensuing years these same voters elected Republican governors across the South and contributed to huge GOP gains in Congress and the state legislatures.

The fourth factor—one that should give Republicans reason for caution as well as a measure of confidence—is regional migration. The decades-long shift in population from the Snowbelt to the Sunbelt has created a sizable new pool of voters in the bulging suburbs and exurbs in the South who are very open to Republican candidates. But this population shift has also changed the face of the South: The new swing voter in the South is not the conservative Democrat but the moderate Republican. These voters tend to be mostly concerned about taxes, education, health care, and the environment. They make up about one-third of the entire Republican vote. George W. Bush, campaigning in 2000 as a compassionate conservative who cared deeply about education, defeated Gore among these southern moderates by the lopsided margin of 64–36 percent. Another product of this new migration is the emerging Hispanic vote. Once confined to Texas and Florida, the Hispanic presence in the South is broadening significantly. The Latino population in Georgia, for example, has quadrupled in the last decade, from 109,000 in 1990 to 435,000 in 2000.

The new political reality created by these demographics appears clear enough, and Democrats have been learning it as well: Over the last few election cycles, they have regained some of their lost ground in the South, electing new governors in Virginia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi. These were largely personal victories, not party victories—Mark Warner won the Virginia governorship last year, for instance, but his party failed to gain control of the state senate and actually lost seats in the state house—but they demonstrate nonetheless that when Republicans lose swing voters or fail to energize their conservative base in the South, they are as susceptible to defeat there as anywhere else.

In the tradition of political scientist V. O. Key, the Black brothers describe the large demographic changes that underlie the momentous political change that has taken place in the South. The authors can't, of course, tell us whether the South will be the cornerstone of a permanent national GOP majority; but they tell us in an intelligent and convincing way how the GOP became so dominant in the South in the first place. If we believe that the past is prologue, this important book contains some clues about the party's future. **NR**

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■ TELEVISION ■

The Greatest

MATTHEW SPALDING

If there ever was a man made for the movies it was George Washington. He was the action figure at the center of every major political event of his day: the move for independence, the Revolutionary War, the formation of the Constitution, the establishment of the new nation. In each case, he was crucial to the success of the event—and thus to the American Founding as a whole.

Washington was tall and broad-shouldered, and looked the part of a great hero. "I thought then as now that I had never beheld so superb a man," Lafayette wrote upon seeing Washington on the battlefield. Thomas Jefferson said his stature was "exactly what one would wish, his deportment easy, erect, and noble." "You had prepared me to entertain a favorable opinion of him," Abigail Adams wrote her husband after meeting Washington, "but I thought the one half was not told me . . ."

Hollywood could not have written a better story, and Central Casting could not have created a better leading man. In 1984, CBS produced a TV miniseries, based on James Thomas Flexner's great biography, starring Barry Bostwick as Washington; dull in places, it had enough battle scenes to keep it generally interesting. *The Crossing*, starring Jeff Daniels as General Washington, is a more recent (and more serious) film about the cross-river attack on Trenton.

Both films had merit, but neither quite captured the man or the moment. The problem is that, over the years, Washington has become typecast as the lifeless figure that adorns coins and stamps, and the overfamiliar name on innumerable

Mr. Spalding is the director of the B. Kenneth Simon Center for American Studies at the Heritage Foundation, and editor of *The Founders' Almanac*.

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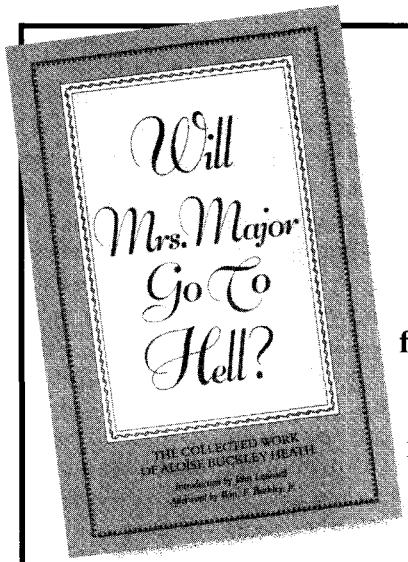

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counties, towns, schools, and streets. In his 1958 biography, *George Washington: Man and Monument*, historian Marcus Cunliffe wrote that "to humanize Washington is to run the risk of falsifying—of losing the essential truth of his personality," which was that Washington had been replaced by a legendary figure larger and more unwieldy than any mortal. "Entombed in his own myth," Washington had become a monument.

Consider the two standard images of Washington. One is a figure of folklore and legend, the subject of childhood stories and nursery rhymes. What is it that we remember about George Washington? As a boy he chopped down a cherry tree with his hatchet and could not tell a lie. As a man he prayed at Valley Forge, had wooden teeth, and naïvely thought honesty to be the best policy.

The other image is that of a granite statesman who is distant and obscure, an unapproachable patriarch. Think of Gilbert Stuart's famous Athenaeum portrait, the solemn, impersonal, and humorless visage that used to be found in public buildings and schoolhouses: Mark Twain once quipped that if Washington were to return and not look just like the well-known painting he would be rejected as an impostor. "Did anybody ever see Washington nude?" Nathaniel Hawthorne once asked. "It is inconceivable. He had no nakedness, but I imagine he was born with his clothes on, and his hair powdered, and made a stately bow on his first appearance in the world."

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"What the Web allows me to do is stay on top of what the other side is doing. If you see something on the NATIONAL REVIEW website, you know you're going to hear it on the floor of the Senate, press releases from the House [Republican] leadership, and Fox [News]."

—Anita Dunn, Partner, Democratic media consulting firm Squier Knapp Dunn, and adviser to Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle.

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Familiarity with the myth and the monument—not to mention the long shadows cast over the era by the likes of Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton—leaves Washington as likely to be the subject of parody as of esteem.

Rediscovering George Washington, a new documentary produced and directed by Michael Pack and written and hosted by Richard Brookhiser, seeks to lift the curtain on the Washington mystery—not by reviewing what we all know, or should know, about the details of Washington's life, but by focusing on why Washington was unlike the other leading men of history. It will air nationally on PBS on July 4.

■

Jefferson said Washington 'was, indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man.'

■

Behind the actions of the leader is the character of the man. The first half of the film considers Washington's character as a warrior, as a man of charisma, and as a politician, highlighting the best examples of his leadership of soldiers and citizens. A great virtue of the film is how the stories are told: Historian (and NR senior editor) Brookhiser is not some off-screen voice speaking over old prints but an active participant who, along with skilled filmmaker Pack, guides the viewer through the narrative—using music and paintings, sights and sounds, and modern illustrations and events to vivify the tales.

Washington's true character comes out most vividly in the film's second half, which considers how Washington differed from another, sadly numerous category: strong individuals such as Julius Caesar, Cromwell, and Napoleon (to say nothing of Lenin, Hitler, and Mao) who betrayed their nations. What made Washington different? Brookhiser, from whose book *Founding Father* the film stems, suggests that three key forces were at work.

Ideas: Despite all of the accomplishments of his public life, Washington never wrote a political tract or philosophical treatise. He left it to others to write the articles, pamphlets, and books that are the hallmark of the period. Nevertheless, Washington grasped the best ideas of the time and lived up to them in practice. Others spoke eloquently of republican principles, but his thoughtful actions translated those ideas into political reality.

Manners: Throughout his life Washington worked hard to be the model of a gentleman. His moral sense was the compass of his private as well as his public life; it had become for him a second nature. The genteel civility he came to personify defined a new kind of manners, based not on birth but on behavior, the kind appropriate for republican self-government.

Constancy: Washington followed his best judgment under particular circumstances, often pursuing what seemed at the time a bold course. But in the end, his life was a pattern of decisions and actions that remained true to a set of core principles. Whether it was returning his military commission once the war was over or freeing his slaves and caring for them in his will, Washington always upheld a very high set of ideals.

In short, George Washington displayed the practical wisdom and prudence of statesmanship, guiding his people through the dangers of establishing their own freedom, alive to the difficulties and challenges of founding a new nation. "Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence," Jefferson once wrote of Washington, "never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining if he saw a doubt, but when once decided, going through with his purpose, whatever obstacles opposed. His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man."

By focusing on the truly great accomplishments and distinctive characteristics of Washington, *Rediscovering George Washington* points us toward the reasons behind Washington's mythical stature, and the real reason why he will always be in the highest ranks of statesmen. It also reminds us why Washington—and not Madison, Jefferson, or Hamilton—is rightly remembered as the Father of His Country. **NR**

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Put Your Toothpicks In the Mail

NEW YORK, JUNE 11

SINCE the administration is engaged in radical administrative reform with a view to augmenting homeland security, a pitch should be made for the application, in airline travel, of intelligence—that's intelligence as in "the faculty of thinking, reasoning, and acquiring and applying knowledge." Nothing to do with counterterrorism. But a great deal to do with the public morale and, conceivably, of life-saving consequence for the airline industry.

The comedian David Brenner is on the warpath on the subject. He told his audience that he has taken a long gig at a club in New Jersey for the single reason that it will spare him his routine, which for years has been dates here and there that had him flying an average of six times a week. He describes the ordeal, which most Americans who fly have experienced.

He likes to recount the airline trip with his 6-year-old son. The security people insisted on removing the slugger's baseball cap, examining it and prying loose the lining—even as a few grownups wearing baseball caps (perhaps they should have aroused suspicion, but they didn't) breezed by. Mr. Brenner recounted, over the air, stratagems he and others have tried, intended to avoid or palliate the flying experience. They include arriving at the airport with less and less luggage—he didn't examine the possibility of arriving in underwear; but nothing has spared him the time, and the humiliation—he is not above complaining that some of the strip-searchers don't speak English. And then he discovered that an "S" is affixed to his name on air tickets, which scarlet letter instructs personnel to *Search.* If you have an "S," you will certainly have to take off your shoes to yield any hidden bomb.

And an "S" can affix itself to anybody, under the random rule. Brenner speaks of the tall man with a moustache who checked in carrying a magnum automatic pistol, fully loaded. He got by the inspectors in the matter of the firearm, because he had a permit exactly describing and authorizing the weapon. The searcher then turned to a manicure set and removed from it a clipper, used to trim the traveler's moustache. He was told he would have to give up the clipper and have it mailed to his home address. This made the man with the moustache indignant. He demanded to know the reason for it. He was told that the moustache trimmer could be used as a weapon in any effort to take control of the plane. Surely, he protested finally, if he wanted to take over the plane by force, he would use his magnum pistol, not his moustache trimmer. And anyway, why would he try to take control of the plane, since he was already in control of the plane, serving in his capacity as captain?

An intelligent reform would aim at *presumptive* clearances.

—The passenger is a woman? One credit.

—The passenger's Social Security number is flashed through the system, showing no record of deception? One credit.

—The passenger is under 15? One credit.

—The passenger is over 50? One credit.

—The passenger has no felony record? One credit.

—The passenger is white or black? One credit.

—The passenger paid for the ticket with a credit card? One credit.

If, checking in, the passenger has a total of five credits or better, affix an "N/S" on his boarding card—No search required.

Now it is acrostically easy to devise the passenger with five points who is nevertheless a terrorist on duty . . . A woman . . . using an innocent woman's name and Social Security number . . . is 60 years old . . .

Yes, the system would have to admit that a duck-billed platypus could get into that airplane, under the proposed credit system, with anthrax under her fingernails.

But we have to hit the problem by reasoning a posteriori: We *know* that the existing system is preposterous. I don't have the wholesome looks of Mr. Brenner, but more than once, checking in my luggage, the curbside attendant has said, "How you doing, Mr. Buckley? Now let me see your I.D."

David Brenner thinks that the only solution to the problem would be to make Tom Ridge travel once a week on a commercial airline trip. He would discover that his role as head of Homeland Security wouldn't get him past the first inspector. Sitting down while they examined his shoes, he could give a little intelligent attention to the stupidities 9/11 generated and American bureaucrats tolerate.

"You know what?—Crime-fighting doesn't pay, either."

Yes to the Railroads

NEW YORK, JUNE 14

THE scare headlines popped up here and there, intensifying last week. We were told that Amtrak would cease services unless . . . Exactly. And Congress will, we soon learned, and inevitably expected, come through with $500-odd million, sufficient to give Amtrak another six months of life. And, in Congress, something more than a stopgap measure is taking on steam. That would be the (Sen.) Fritz Hollings bill, a grand design of $59 billion to give us, coast to coast, a modern system. Sen. Hollings is a shrewd legislator. Drawing deep on the fragrance of September 11, he has called his bill the "National Defense Rail Act."

Now, the argument against federal financing of rail travel begins with the axiomatic rule: Let the rail passengers pay for their own conveniences.

A pretty fair rule, but it's not a violation of it to remark the complexities.

The first of these is that the government is heavily involved in subsidizing

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traffic of every kind. The motorist can hardly get around the block without driving over asphalt primarily financed by town and county, but also with contributions coming in tangentially from the federal government. When you debouch from I-95, you travel from road surface 100 percent paid for by the federal government, down the ramp to cutoffs toward the construction of which the feds made a lesser contribution, but a contribution nonetheless, onto roads paid for by the state, and by lower echelons of government, county and city. It takes hardy pioneering into highly exclusive warrens before the user runs into the driveway he actually paid for himself.

The same holds true, of course, for the airlines, an intimation of whose problems was given us by U.S. Airways last week, when management said that service could not continue until $1 billion was raised.

There are other entwinements. The railroad, for instance, carries mail and postal packages. These, of course, are paid for by fees. Arriving at the right figure for such fees is an intricate assignment. What would it cost to ship the same package via the competition? Well, that would mean a truck. Trucks travel on federally paid-for roads.

And then, railroads have to pay for rights-of-way. Some own their own tracks, some do not. How do you allocate the capital expense of servicing these tracks?

And how to factor in the national need for adequate transportation facilities? When President Eisenhower launched the great highway program in 1956, he had partly in mind the need to increase the facilities for transcontinental defense. So to speak, a coast-to-coast Panama Canal.

Now where the question gets itchy is the factor of relative convenience. There are a thousand towns in America with no rail service at all, where inhabitants who want to travel have to make their way by automobile or bus or airplane. These are people many of whom seethe at the thought of northeast-corridor Americans getting around between Boston and Washington on a fleet of trains that are losing money. Fifty-two percent of travel between New York and Washington is done by railroad. Can the situation be rectified by simply charging more money? Experience shows that it can't. For some people, the demand for train travel is inelastic, but not for a lot of people. If you doubled the rail fare, you would not double the revenue.

This is a pretty universal experience, there being no railroad service in any industrial country that pays for itself. Do we have here an example of an organic exception to the rule that services should pay their own way? That may be in fact the case, but in any event, conservatives need to climb onto a higher level from which to seek a broader perspective.

The urbanization of America and the volatility of American travel need to be accepted as a part of the American culture that shouldn't be constrained, let alone aborted, by dogmatic enforcements of otherwise useful rules of procedure.

The plan of Sen. Hollings is significantly to improve and to increase the availability of railroads, and he needs to justify doing this, at a cost of over $5 billion per year, by persuading Congress and the public that however uneven the usufructs of rail travel to different parts of America, a national endowment is economically defensible, culturally desirable, and tangentially useful to the common defense.

A World of Cheats

NEW YORK, JUNE 18

THE cartoon across the op-ed page of the *New York Times* is by James Stevenson of *The New Yorker*. We see a marching file of balding middle-aged men in vacation garb, grins on their faces, caps and hats tossed up in the air jubilantly, a band bringing up the rear, two bassoons prominent. The title: "New Parade: Bermuda Day." The caption reads, "Top Executives March Down Fifth Avenue to Celebrate the Island Where Their Corporations Are Registered to Avoid Taxes."

Pro-capitalists wince. Because, of course, it's true: tax avoidance.

On the same day, on the front page of the business section, we learn about the generosity of Enron to its top employees in the last twelve months the company did business. The headliner is chairman Kenneth Lay who, when you pull it all together, seems to have got $103,559,793, not counting change. Trading executive Mark Frevert was paid $17 million. The 20 executives cited got less, going down to the bottom of the list, to Gene E. Humphrey, in charge of community services, who received $3 million. Actually, $3,100,224. Six-digit ancillaries in million-dollar figures don't strike the eye very sharply; $600,000 is something more than a mere gratuity.

Less noticeable in the news today is the story of the cruise liner in the shipyard in Mississippi on which the government will have lost $187 million in guaranteed loans, in its effort to revive the shipbuilding industry in America. There is a picture of the incomplete cruise liner squatting in the yard. It is unadorned by a Stevenson cartoon, which is a pity since he could have got a nice tease out of the fact that the cruise liner can't float on water.

Things would seem to be awry in U.S. commerce. One effort to get some orientation on the matter was embodied in the lawsuit against Arthur Andersen, the auditors who served Enron and, given what happened to Enron, will now go out of business. The Department of Justice won its case, but the jurors revealed that they were moved to vote Guilty primarily by a letter of advice from an Enron lawyer-employee that seemed to say that a proposed report should be bowdlerized by omitting one sentence. Since that advice was arguably protected by lawyer-client privilege, the verdict will probably be appealed. And in any case, nothing was really established, in that trial, of a kind that informed the community about what is going on in the world of commerce. What has certainly not been achieved is a plan that would clean up the mess.

That would have to be *some* reform. One that would require a company, DNA-tested as a U.S. company, to pay U.S. corporate taxes. One that would expose preposterous corporate compensations to insurrectionary action by stockholders. One that would keep the government from spending money from taxes in order to build colossal non-floating cruise ships for the single purpose of patronizing a boatyard in the home state of Trent Lott. Going to Bermuda in order to beat taxes is, after all, on the same ethical plane as going to Mississippi to beat the world-market price for building a cruise liner.

The American public does not appear to be roiled by extravagances of government or of corporate life. But it could happen, and heads would roll.

But then we would know the worst of it, which is of course that the Enrons go out of business and life goes on, but governments can't go out of business: Their depredations live on.

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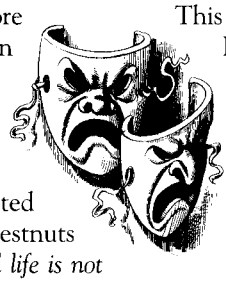
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

HAVING at last disposed of the avalanche of newspaper clippings known as my Idea Files, I am now sorting out the stack of spiral notebooks that constitute my Journal. All writers are supposed to keep a journal and include it in our literary papers, so that's where mine is going as soon as I kill two birds with one stone and get a column out of it.

The word "journal" calls to mind small, elegant books bound in hand-tooled Moroccan leather, not drugstore school tablets with Garfield on the cover, but that's posterity's problem. My very first spiral volume goes back so far that the faded price sticker says 39 cents. This is the one I'm tempted to toss because it's full of old chestnuts like Socrates' "*The unexamined life is not worth living.*" I was still in the stage of writing "How true!" in margins so I come off as positively giddy throughout.



I start to sound more like me in the notebook whose cover proclaims "N.C. State University, Home of 1974 NCAA Basketball Championship" (89 cents). The first entry is about Phyllis Schlafly's *A Choice, Not an Echo*, in which she attacked the writer Edmund Wilson for deprecating America and living abroad. She failed to mention that a Founding Father had felt substantially the same way, so I recorded his two pertinent statements, plus a remark of my own:

"*Every day proves to me more and more that this American world was not made for me.*"

"*Am I a fool—a romantic Quixote—or is there a constitutional defect in the American mind?*"

"No, Alex, you aren't; yes, Alex, there is."

Many of my journal notations fall into the category of miscellaneous pedantry, things I happen to come across while reading that I simply enjoy knowing. These tend to be Latin one-liners, e.g., "*Scribendo disces scribere*"—one learns to write by writing—and Gore Vidal's deliciously apt reversal of our national motto, "*Ex Uno Plures*": from one, many.

Miss King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

In the past, many writers used their journals for detailed accounts of dinner parties and long, tortured lucubrations, but keeping a diary has never appealed to me, and whenever I've felt tortured my response has been drink now, write later. I like to make entries that are short and quick, which is why my journals resemble a flea market: a jumble of trash 'n' treasures that are impossible to find again unless I page through each notebook.

This is why you've never seen them; I've been meaning to use them for years but they just now turned up: "If the soul is immortal as Christianity claims, it must have existed before our birth. In that case, Christians are believers in reincarnation."

"It takes a woman a long time to figure out that she's being sexually used, but a man who is put to stud grasps the truth at once."

"People should never try to hide their true selves from a writer. That's like trying to hide earth from a mole. We were the original interpreters of the human mind and heart, before the shrinks pulled the rug out from under us. Shakespeare never read Freud, but Freud read Shakespeare."

"I can't listen to Rush anymore. Those hokey populist conservatives drive me up the wall. They think saying 'God' and 'family' every three seconds makes you a conservative. I'm an agnostic old maid but I'm more conservative than any of them."

My longest journal entry takes up a whole page, but not the same page. It's three quotations that I copied into three different notebooks over a period of time. One day, I heard a click in my head and everything fell into place, so I hauled it all together and drew my own conclusion:

Tacitus: "*A woman who has lost her chastity will shrink from no crime.*"

Philippe de Navarre: "*Women have one great advantage: It is sufficient for them to cultivate a single virtue if they wish to be well thought of. . . . If a woman keeps her body intact, all her other defects are hidden and she can hold her head high.*"

Louise d'Epinay: "*The virtues that people wish to give to women in general are almost all virtues against nature, which produce only small artificial virtues and some very real vices.*"

Florence King: "Be good, fair maid, and you can slit all the throats you want."

Usually I never can find the entry I want when I need it, but one time I did, and lived to regret it. I was reviewing a biography of Pete Rose, whose taste, it seemed, was all in his mouth. To point up his penchant for trashy friends in an interesting way, I decided to use a quotation from Graham Greene's *The End of the Affair* that makes reference to Cophetua, the mythical African king who shrank from women of his own rank because only slave girls turned him on.

Miraculously, I turned right to it: "*Beautiful women, especially if they are intelligent also, stir some deep feeling of inferiority in me. I don't know whether psychologists have yet named the Cophetua complex, but I have always found it hard to feel sexual desire without some sense of superiority, mental or physical.*"

Book reviews usually don't draw much reader mail, but I was inundated with letters, all from men: "Could you tell me more about the Cophetua complex? I've got a friend who might have it" . . . "I'm worried about my brother because I think he has a Cophetua complex" . . . "Of course, I don't have any problems that way, but there's a guy in my office" . . .

Normally, I don't care much for poetry unless I spot a good title in it. I spotted two that fairly leapt out at me, so I copied them down. One is in Edna St. Vincent Millay's "Sonnet XXXV": "*Though summer's rife and the warm rose in season/Rebuke me not, I have a winter reason.*" (Probably because men have a Cophetua complex.) The other is in "The Man with the Blue Guitar" by Wallace Stevens: "*It is the sun that shares our works/The moon shares nothing. It is a sea.*" Unfortunately, however, I can't write fiction, so if anyone wants *A Winter Reason* or *The Moon Shares Nothing*, be my guest.

I've tried to break the journal habit but I can't; I made my latest entry today: "The Salt Lake City kidnapping news is so full of hosannas to wholesome happy families that I had to drop everything and re-read *Wuthering Heights*." **NR**

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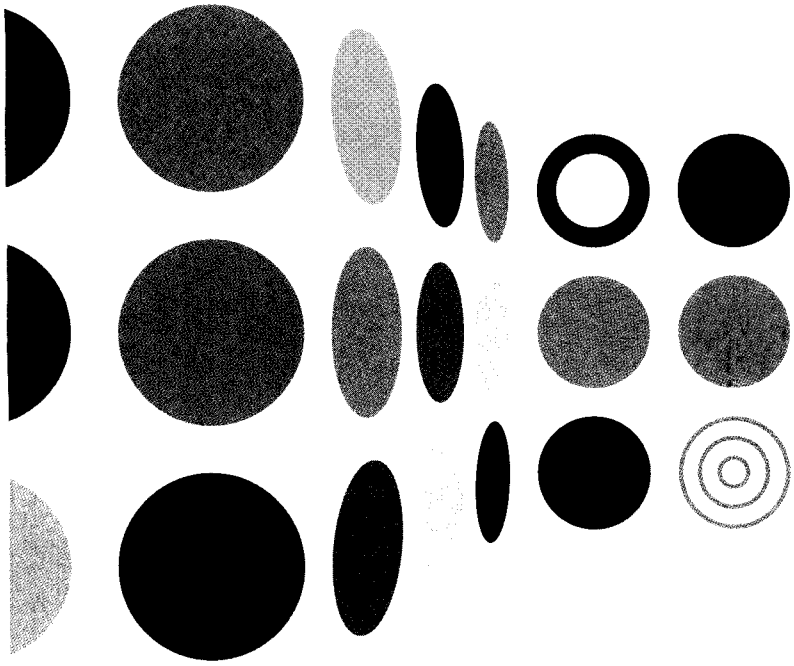

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